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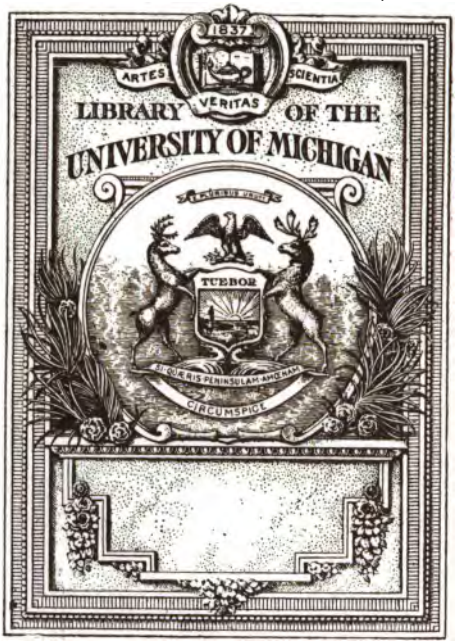
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A SERVICE OF LOVE IN WAR TIME



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A SERVICE OF LOVE IN WAR TIME

AMERICAN FRIENDS RELIEF WORK IN EUROPE, 1917-1919

BY

RUFUS M. JONES

Author of "The Inner Life," "The World Within," etc.



New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1920

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TO

THE MEMORY OF

ISAAC SHARPLESS

One of the truest, best and most loved men I have ever known, who, though gone into the unseen, has left a luminous trail of light behind him, this book is affectionately dedicated

307877

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INTRODUCTION

THIS book does not profess to be a history of the work of relief and reconstruction which Friends have done in France and Russia and in other countries since the fateful autumn of 1914. Only one who has been in the thick of the work on the field can write the final, intimate history of any one of the major relief undertakings of Friends. And as the work since 1917 has been a joint endeavor of English and American Friends the complete history of it must be composite, i. e. written by both English and Americans. It is to be hoped that persons of leisure will be found in the not distant future who can tell with sufficient detail the interesting story of the labors of this large band of volunteers who have rebuilt homes, revived agriculture, restored the spirits of depressed refugees, saved the lives of many children and reconstructed extensive areas of the desolated war-zones, who have gone out with living faith and with efficient relief into some of the darkest regions of the suffering world, both in war-time and in the no less appalling period which has followed the armistice.

My attempt is much more modest. I am merely endeavoring here to interpret the effort which American Friends have made to express their spirit of human love to a part of the world—an innocent part—caught in the awful tangle of the tragedy. I should not have written it, certainly not at this time, if it had not been for the irresistible appeal of Isaac Sharpless, President Emeritus of Haverford College, who laid the task upon me with an urgency I could not with-

stand. He wanted this much of the story told while it was still fresh and lively and he insisted that I must undertake it. I told him that I was too busy and could not stop to do it. He replied with his usual calm rejoinder which no one could ever resist: "Nevertheless thee must do it—a man can always do more than he is doing!" After that I knew I had to do it, even if it *was* impossible, for more than once he has laid his hand on me to do the impossible.

I have made as little reference to persons, including myself, as was possible since this has been a corporate work and not an individual's doing. In the *Odyssey* everything centers in one man, Odysseus, and we hear practically nothing of the exploits of his *men*. Our modern conceptions are very different. We are interested in the whole group, the men and the women, too, and leaders concern us precisely in so far as they are real *leaders*, and not solitary and exclusive doers of deeds. Some things which had to be told could not be told with the names gone and therefore they appear where they seemed obviously essential to the narrative.

Assuming that the story of the English work will be fully told by some English Friend or Friends I have only incidentally dealt with it, but no readers of this book can miss the fact that what they did was a fundamental condition to what we did. They were both authors and finishers of this venture of faith. We can not overstate our appreciation of their service and fellowship. Our work together in this time of agony has inaugurated a new era of relationship between English and American Friends which is prophetic of much for the future.

Some of my readers may feel that I have devoted too much space to the problems of the military draft and to the experience of the conscientious objectors to war, instead of going directly to the central point of interest, the work in

the areas of desolation. The reason for the order and emphasis which appear in my chapters is that the perspective of actual events as they occurred called for this order and emphasis. This book is something more than the story of an impressive piece of relief work. It is the interpretation of a way of life. The relief work took on a peculiar form and character just because it was the expression of a definite religious faith and sprang naturally out of an inner spirit and attitude to life.

The members of the Society of Friends and other Christians of similar faith who, under the compulsion of their deep-seated convictions, could not accept the methods of war loved their country with as much devotion and fervor as did any of its citizens. They did not take their unique and difficult position because they were obstructionists. They took it because they were inwardly pledged to a way of life which, if extended through the world, would eliminate the seeds of war and would bring new and higher forces into operation within the fabric of society. They could not, therefore, of a sudden change the faith of a lifetime and substitute the methods of war for the slower but not less effective forces of love and co-operation. They felt that for them to surrender their ideals of life in this crisis of history would be to prove recreant to the fundamental hopes of humanity.

Most of the officials with whom I had frequent dealing in Washington, and many unofficial people, were convinced that we who took this position were consistent in our course and were doing right when we kept unswervingly on the path of life which our fathers had walked before us. Again and again I was told: "You are doing what you ought to do. We need to have in the world, especially now, some people who believe in the conquering power of love and who

express in deeds the conviction that Christ's Kingdom of God is something more than a dream or an illusion to be surrendered at every hard pinch. Some day we shall all be glad that you stood out, held on and would not yield to the mighty appeal of the hour." This position, as I have said, was no hasty expedient; it was as deep as life itself. To go back on it was to barter away the very faith which made life a rich and precious thing.

But the one impossible course for those of us who held this faith was to refuse the call to fight and at the same time to refuse all responsibility for the tragedy, to withdraw into some calm retreat, assume for ourselves a holier attainment than that possessed by other Christians and secure an easy safety purchased by superior piety! No, to do that was to lose the soul as surely as though a contract had been signed with Mephistopheles. The world tragedy was a common tragedy for which we were all in our degree to blame and the agony of which in some measure we were all bound to bear a share. It was not possible for one who had a real, living, throbbing soul within him to run away into some bomb-proof shelter built by faith and to wait in security until the storm rolled by. The great Pioneer who marked out the way of life we wished to take did quite otherwise when His crisis came. We wanted to show our faith in action and to show it in a way that would both bring healing to the awful wounds of war and at the same time take us out of self and selfish aims and carry us into the furnace where others were suffering. I have endeavored to tell in the following pages how the door was opened for this type of service and how the men who had been confined in the army camps, bearing their silent testimony indeed, but unable to put their hands to any constructive task, were liberated by the

government to join their freer fellows in doing this work of love in Europe. I have a feeling that this part of the story will have its own interest and will add to the interest of the work in the Marne, the Somme and the Meuse.

Now that all the havoc and ruin of the world, with its boundless tragedy, is spread out before us, as it is for those who read, this other method of life may perhaps not look altogether foolish and irrational. Now that bankruptcy not only in financial credits, but in far more important assets than money, has become a fact for much of the world, a new and unsuspected value may perhaps be seen in the elemental faiths of the human heart—faith in love, in truth, in fellowship, in co-operation, and in the spirit of forgiveness and sacrifice. Now that hunger and disease and greed and post-war hate have revealed their awful and malevolent sway, possibly it may be a relief to turn away from the dark picture and to read the simple story of an attempt to practice love both with friends and enemies in the midst of the disaster and catastrophe.

In any case here is the story. It has been rapidly written, but it is as truthfully and fairly told as I have been able to tell it. I have had a good deal of valuable help from my friend Janet Payne Whitney of New York, especially in the collection of material which lay buried in letters and reports and minute-books. What appears here is only a small fragment out of a vastly greater mass of material, but I hope enough is given to show the quality of the service and the spirit of the volunteers who have performed it, and to indicate that they have

"Lent their hand
To the vast Soul that o'er them planned."

A SERVICE OF LOVE IN WAR TIME

CHAPTER I

PREPARATORY STEPS

THERE will be tens of thousands of books written discussing the causes of the Great War, telling the story of mobilization, describing in detail the movements of armies and navies and air fleets, drawing the portraits and characteristics of the great actors, and recounting the harrowing story of trench life.

There will be another group of books devoted to reviewing the immense work of sanitation, ambulance service and medical and surgical reconstruction. The tragedies of the sea and the perils of raided cities will fill another series of volumes. The causes of the collapse of Russia and finally of the Central Powers, the propaganda of ideas, the armistice, the Paris Peace Conference and the Treaties which emerged from it will furnish a small library of books.

It cannot be out of place to add to this vast literature one small volume which will tell in brief compass the story of the Mission of love and service which members of the Society of Friends maintained and carried through during the critical years of the war and afterwards. It will prove to be, the writer believes, far more than a narrative of individual service and suffering; far more, too, than an apology for the ancient historical position of the Quakers. It will, perhaps, turn out to be a contribution of some significance

toward the discovery of a better way of dealing with acute international situations, and it may possibly make the work of mere peace-makers seem worthy of the gratitude of men.

Every great war, of necessity, forces those who believe war to be incompatible with their interpretation of Christianity to investigate anew their position and to re-think the basis of their faith. The millstones of war grind "exceeding small." There is nothing which does not have to experience the pressure of these stern pulverizers. Even the ideals of the soul are thrown into the all-embracing hopper for the grist of war, and they do not always come through uncrushed, unreduced. In former times Friends lived far more apart and isolated from the public affairs of the world than is the case to-day. They desired then to be, and to be thought, "a peculiar people." They welcomed opportunities to shut themselves off from popular currents of thought and action. They wished to be individualistic, to nourish and cultivate a piety of their own exclusive type. They cherished from generation to generation a testimony in behalf of peace and they rigidly excluded from membership with themselves those who violated the testimony. Through favorable provisions of the state and federal governments Friends in America received from time to time a large measure of exemption from the requirements of military service and so, except in the very sternest crises, escaped the severe testings which their views would otherwise have entailed. The Civil War brought the issue closer home to Friends in America than any former war had done, but the sympathy of President Lincoln was frequently manifested in behalf of Friends who were suffering for the sake of conscience, while Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War, did all that lay in his power to ease the condition of conscientious Quakers. In the Southern States Friends

maintained their testimony at great cost in agony and suffering and made their faith far clearer both to themselves and to others than had been the case for a century.

When the Great War burst upon the world in the summer of 1914 Friends in America were not spiritually prepared to give an adequate interpretation of the ground and basis of their faith, nor were they clearly united upon a plan of action suited to and correspondent with their ideals of life. For more than two hundred and fifty years this body of Christian people had adhered to an interpretation of Christianity which called for a way of life the practice of which was utterly incompatible with the spirit and method of war. The difficulty had been that this "way of life" was often held in a nominal and traditional fashion and was not vitally and freshly thought out in an up-to-date manner. Then, again, most Friends had not clearly enough realized that the seeds of war lay thick and heavy in the existing social, economic and industrial conditions of life, and that their way of life ought to have led them into the spirit and activities which would have helped remove the occasion for war. The strain came first upon the Friends of Great Britain and Ireland, of whom there were somewhat more than 22,000 members, though from the first inception of the conflict the leaders of thought among Friends in America realized that their central faith, their way of life, was now to be tried so as by fire.

The first step which English Friends took was marked by real inspiration. It was the issuance of a Message, drafted during the first days of the war, "To Men and Women of Good-will in the British Empire." It began with these solemn words: "We find ourselves to-day in the midst of what may prove to be the fiercest conflict in the history of the human race. Whatever may be our view of the processes

which have led to its inception, we have now to face the fact that war is proceeding on a terrific scale and that our own country is involved in it." The Message reaffirmed the basic belief of the Society that "the method of force is no solution of any question," that "the fundamental unity of men in the family of God is the one enduring reality," and then issued a call to those "whose conscience forbade them to take up arms" to serve in other ways in the great crisis. "Our duty is clear," the Message declared, "to be courageous in the cause of love and in the hate of hate." A fine and lofty prophetic note ran through the entire document which made it a fresh and appealing interpretation of the Christian ideal and a word of hope at one of the darkest moments of modern history. The call to be "courageous in the cause of love" was immediately answered by a host of volunteers who were ready for the many avenues of service which opened at once to men and women of good-will.

The three most notable forms of service which the English and Irish Friends put into operation, almost from the beginning of the war, were (1) a voluntary ambulance unit under the Friends' Ambulance Committee: (2) an extensive system of relief for refugees and other victims of the war, directed by the "War Victims Relief Committee"; and (3) a service of assistance to aliens and their families under the "Emergency Committee for helping Aliens." A fourth form of service developed later when the Conscription Law went into operation, which consisted of a work of help and counsel to those who were suffering for their faith as conscientious objectors. This work was managed by the "Friends' Service Committee."

American Friends were from the first deeply interested in all these lines of service. As soon as definite knowledge of the appalling conditions abroad became general and when

Friends in this country realize how devotedly their fellow-members in Europe were engaging in missions of relief, they began making contributions of money in order to assist in financing these various lines of activity. This assistance, which amounted to about $5,000 a month, was by no means in adequate proportion to the immense sums which were being expended by English Friends, but it at least showed a vital sympathetic interest. In 1915 Rufus M. Jones selected four men—two of them, Edward Rice, Jr., and Felix Morley, recent graduates of Haverford College, and two of them, Earl Fowler and Howard Carey, graduates of Earlham College—raised the money necessary to cover their expenses for a year of service abroad, and sent them out to join the Friends' Ambulance Unit in which they served with much satisfaction to the Unit and to the London Committee. This experience in co-operation with English Friends, small though it was, had a distinct influence in shaping the larger future co-operation. The letters which the four American workers wrote home, and the furlough-visit of Edward Rice, Jr., kept us keenly interested and helped us to realize the advantages of fellowship and co-operation which would result if they were on a larger scale.

After the opening of 1917 it became increasingly apparent that America was eventually to be drawn into the ever expanding vortex of the war. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) held its annual gathering at the critical period when the decision of the United States to enter the war on the side of the Entente Allies was being consummated at Washington.[1] It was an occasion of profound solemnity. An impressive letter was sent by the Yearly Meeting to

[1] Philadelphia Y. M. was held from the 20th to the 30th of March 1917 and War was declared by the United States April 6th.

President Woodrow Wilson, commending his efforts on behalf of Peace, expressing the attitude of "the silent masses of humanity who deplore the prospect of war" and urging upon Congress to consider "how vital to the interests of humanity will be the coming decision." The Representative Meeting was keenly awake to the needs of the hour. It carefully watched over the interests of its young members and in order to be equipped for its varied tasks it appointed a secretary who should devote himself to the work. William B. Harvey was selected for this important service.

For many years there had existed "a Peace Association of Friends," composed of members of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) but not organic with the Yearly Meeting itself. Its work and aims were now absorbed into the Yearly Meeting and a large Yearly Meeting's Committee was appointed to have the care and direction of the Peace activities of this body. It was a weighty group of men and women who were keenly alive to the critical issues of the hour, and they took many important forward steps dealing with problems of peace and war before the Service Committee was organized. The committee had already begun to work in close affiliation with a similar Peace Committee of the Race Street Yearly Meeting (Hicksite).

Meantime another step had been taken which proved to be an important preparation for future active service. A Friends National Peace Conference was held at Winona Lake, Indiana, in July, 1915. This Conference appointed a Continuation Committee which consisted of a small group of Friends able to speak and act in some measure for all American Friends. This National Committee occasionally joined with the Peace Committees of the two Philadelphia Yearly

Meetings in formulating plans, and it issued, shortly before the declaration of War, a Message from the Society of Friends concerning the condition of affairs. This Message was printed as an advertisement in many of the leading magazines and newspapers of the United States. It contained the following important passage on constructive service: "The alternative to war is not inactivity and cowardice. *It is the irresistible and constructive power of good-will.*" The Message proceeded to call for "the invention and practice on a gigantic scale of new methods of conciliation and altruistic service" and it declared that "the present intolerable situation among nations demands an unprecedented expression of organized national good-will." This National Committee held an important conference in the city of Washington and for some months maintained a National Friends Bureau in that city.

As soon as the decison for war was taken at Washington, Rufus M. Jones and Dr. James A. Babbitt proceeded to organize an Emergency Unit at Haverford College which included practically the entire student body and a large part of the teaching staff. A fund of about $10,000 was raised, the men were supplied with clothing suitable for their emergency service, were equipped with the necessary tents, tools, and materials, were furnished, through loans or gifts by friends, with automobiles and ambulances and entered strenuously upon training in a variety of forms such as would discipline and harden them and prepare them for almost any volunteer service abroad when the call should come to them. This emergency service at Haverford proved to be a distinct step in preparation for the Reconstruction Work which quickly succeeded it.[1]

[1] Rufus M. Jones was Chairman of this Unit and Dr. James A. Babbitt was Director of it.

CHAPTER II

FORMATION OF PLANS

THE first stage in the organization of a joint American Friends Service Committee was taken April 30th, 1917. A meeting was held in Young Friends Building, Philadelphia, composed of Friends, representing Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), Friends General Conference (Hicksite), and the Five Years Meeting which is the central body of thirteen yearly meetings of "Orthodox Friends."[1] The primary object of the meeting was to consider the establishment of a Permanent National Headquarters for the Society of Friends and to formulate plans for future service. It was pointed out that young Friends in all parts of the country were very eager to find lines of helpful activity in which they could conscientiously engage, at the time when other young men of their age were pressing forward to volunteer for military and naval service. The possibility of joining with English Friends in Ambulance and Relief Work was considered, as was also the formation of an American Friends Ambulance Unit. It was the unanimous sense of the group that Friends could not accept exemption from military service and at the same

[1] The following persons were present: In the first group named above, Alfred G. Scattergood, Charles J. Rhoads, Stanley R. Yarnall, Henry W. Comfort, and Anne G. Walton. In the second, Jesse H. Holmes, Lucy Biddle Lewis, Arabella Carter, and William H. Cocks. In the third group, L. Hollingsworth Wood, Homer Morris and Vincent D. Nicholson. Henry J. Cadbury and J. Barnard Walton were unofficially in attendance. A temporary organization was effected.

time do nothing to express their positive faith and devotion in the great human crisis.[1] The following minute was adopted: "We are united in expressing our love for our country and our desire to serve her loyally. We offer our services to the Government of the United States in any constructive work in which we can conscientiously serve humanity."

It was decided to arrange for headquarters, to appoint permanent officers, including an executive secretary, and to enlarge the Committee. Meantime the members of the Society of Friends who belonged to the Emergency Unit at Haverford were pressing strongly for some satisfactory form of constructive service into which they could throw their energies. After much correspondence with English Friends it developed that the difficulties of obtaining "permits from the War Office made the service of American volunteers practically impossible in the Friends' Ambulance Unit and extremely limited in the work of the War Victims Committee. Under these circumstances Dr. James A. Babbitt and Rufus M. Jones went to New York to have a conference with Eliot Norton concerning the possibility of forming a volunteer Ambulance Unit of American Friends to be affiliated with the Harjes-Norton Unit. A cable to Paris in response to our request revealed the fact that all American ambulance work was shortly to be militarized. That door of service, therefore, seemed completely closed. Just at this time President Wilson was reorganizing the American Red Cross to meet the great emergency. He called Henry P. Davison of New York to undertake the direction of all foreign War-Relief Work,

[1] It was supposed at this period that the exemption clause in the Draft Law would give Friends complete exemption. We shall see later that it did not do so.

and at the same time he asked Grayson Mallet-Prevost Murphy to become Chief of the American Red Cross in France. Grayson Murphy was a graduate of the William Penn Charter School in Philadelphia and he had been for two years (1896-1898) a student at Haverford College. He had, in college, been on intimate terms with Rufus M. Jones and the latter, upon hearing of his appointment wrote to him at once suggesting that a Friends' Unit for Relief Work in France might be formed, and asking if he would like to take up the matter in person. His answer was most cordial and encouraging, indicating a real desire for an interview. Rufus M. Jones asked Alfred G. Scattergood, L. Hollingsworth Wood, Vincent D. Nicholson, and Harold Evans to accompany him to Washington for the conference. Grayson Murphy heartily welcomed the suggestion of the formation of a Quaker Unit to work in co-operation with the civilian service of the American Red Cross in France, and he suggested that a small commission of Friends be sent to France to work out the plans on the field. Henry P. Davison had just arrived at the Red Cross Headquarters in Washington and was beginning his great work on the day of the Friends' visit. Grayson Murphy invited him to join in the conference, saying to him as he introduced them: "I know the Friends of old and I can guarantee to you that if they promise to do a piece of work *they will do it, and they will do it well.*" Henry P. Davison fell in heartily with the proposal and gave it his official approval and endorsement. The little group of Friends returned from Washington in great joy and with high hopes. It was the first of many visits to the capital for some of the party and few journeys of the kind proved more memorable.

Grayson Murphy followed up his invitation to have a

Friends' Commission go to France by a request to Rufus M. Jones to meet him for further conference in New York City. The latter, accompanied by J. Henry Scattergood, went to New York where the plans for the proposed work were made much more definite. We were encouraged to make arrangements to train a unit of a hundred men for the foreign service, and Grayson Murphy generously proposed that at least two Friends should go to France on the same steamer with him and the other Red Cross Commissioners to make the definite plans on the field for the future service, for which in the meantime the workers would be training and equipping.

While these matters were progressing the central committee, which was eventually to manage the work, was gradually growing into definite form and organization. This committee was considerably enlarged so as to be fairly representative of American Friends; and its name changed to American Friends Service Committee. Vincent D. Nicholson, a young Friend of striking abilities and of deeply consecrated spirit, was appointed executive secretary, to whom the committee owes a debt of gratitude. Rufus M. Jones was asked to become chairman of the committee, which, after much reflection and serious consideration, he consented to do, with a deep sense of what was involved in the step. Charles F. Jenkins accepted the heavy work of the treasurership and Alfred G. Scattergood was made vice-chairman and chairman of the finance committee. The committee unanimously decided to adopt the work outlined in conference with Grayson Murphy, and to go forward with the plans for its execution and development. J. Henry Scattergood and L. Hollingsworth Wood were asked to form the Commission for France with the understanding that if either one of them were unable to accept the two

Friends named to go, in consultation with the officers of the committee, should appoint a substitute. As L. Hollingsworth Wood found it impossible to go, Morris E. Leeds of Philadelphia was chosen to accompany J. Henry Scattergood. It was a fortunate selection and most faithfully and wisely did they perform their delicate and difficult mission. They were requested to confer with English Friends and to bring the American service into as close relation as possible with that being carried on under the London Committee. In that matter, too, they were peculiarly successful, as future chapters will show.

The commissioners sailed on *La Touraine* from New York June 2nd in company with the large Red Cross Commission and, though it was a time of great danger at sea, they arrived at their destination without mishap.

The tentative budget proposed for the operations of the first year was put at $110,000 for the foreign work and $5,000 for home expenses, but this modest estimate was very soon transcended. In response to definite requests from the London War Victims Committee it was decided to send a small band of American workers to France to undertake service under the English committee, and to select a group of women to go to Russia to engage in the work at Buzuluk under the Russian section of the same committee. Both of these groups were to be supported and financed by the American committee and the workers were to serve without compensation. George V. Downing, Edith Coale, Douglas and Eleanor Waples, Ernest L. Brown, Howard W. and Katherine W. Elkinton were accepted for the work in France, and Lydia C. Lewis, Anna J. Haines, Nancy Babb, Esther M. White, Emilie C. Bradbury and Amelia Farbiszewski were chosen for Russia. A little later William

M. and Mary Elkinton Duguid were added to the list of American workers for France.

Even before the Service Committee was established the Young Friends Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) had been in correspondence with the War Victims Committee of London and had decided to raise money and send a group of workers both to France and Russia. They had already selected most of those who made up the two above mentioned lists of volunteers. This step was largely due to the initiative of Leah T. Cadbury of Haverford, who had given a term of service previously in France.

While the two commissioners were on their voyage to France and were making their preliminary study of the possible fields of service open to us there, plans were being developed on this side for the selection and training of a hundred men. Rufus M. Jones, LeRoy Mercer, Vincent D. Nicholson, and Henry J. Cadbury formed the original committee to formulate the application blanks, to determine upon qualifications, and to make the selection of the first hundred men. Applications came in thick and fast and almost swamped the small committee. There were many complicated questions to settle and extremely little light to go by. No one knew yet what the nature of the work abroad would eventually be, whether building, agriculture, or relief. We realized in a general way that the occasion would call for physical endurance, sterling moral character, quick adaptability, and readiness to serve with hands or head in a wide variety of lines. We endeavored as far as possible to have the group composed of men who were conscientiously opposed to war, and for that reason unable to engage in it. This problem, however, proved to be a

very difficult one. Many of the applicants had never faced the question for themselves. They had not thought through the issues involved. They all hated war. They had no doubt at all in their minds that war was one of the things that ought not to be in this world of ours. But here it was, an existing fact. Whether they liked it or not it was in full operation and their own government had seen no way to avoid an entrance into it. The situation presented to them was an unescapable rivalry of loyalties. How far were they under obligation to serve their country in a mission which appeared to conflict with their ideals of right and wrong, and how far did the unexpected desperate world-situation which confronted them lay upon them a call to break with the settled teaching and attitude of their type of Christianity? These and many other questions of a kindred sort rose and recurred in every serious young Friend's mind. It was obviously extremely difficult for the committee to decide what was the real state of mind of the applicant, since in many cases he did not know himself. The canons of physical fitness were easy to formulate; the scrutiny of the inward process of the soul, was, on the other hand, a baffling undertaking. We did our best to discover in these early days when the draft was approaching how deep-seated and how honest was the *conviction of duty* which led the applicant to turn to the sphere of service in which we were engaged. The decision was not always right but it was always at least very seriously made.

Another point of great importance confronted us. What was to be our uppermost aim in our service? Was it to be first and foremost a service of love to suffering France, an expedition of relief for a part of the world which had

been brought to awful desolation; or was it to be primarily an opportunity for conscientiously-minded Friends to find an alternative form of service which would relieve them from the forced obligation of war? Were we to consider further the way in which this service would inspire and unify the Society of Friends and arouse it to its proper sense of mission in the world-crisis, or were we rather to think only of what we could do and give to relieve misery, without consideration of the reward of reaction upon Friends themselves? In selecting men should we have in view the work to be done abroad or the effect to be accomplished upon the person himself and more especially upon the wider circle to which he belonged at home? These questions could not be kept out of sight and they were as difficult to answer honestly as were the other questions of conscience referred to above. It was our settled policy and purpose in all sincerity to select men with clear reference to the service which they were to render abroad. That was always in the focus of our minds as we toiled over the heaps of letters and papers that poured in upon us. We concluded that only in one way could this piece of work be great and good, or in the end produce any lasting effect, and that was by the selection of the best group of men that was available to us to do the work. In that spirit the selection was made. We kept learning wisdom in the process of the work, gradually we discovered the defects and inadequacies of our methods, and little by little our system of selection grew into better shape. It succeeded, however, even in the first stages, in securing a remarkable band of a hundred men for France whose training will be recounted in the next chapter.

One of the great good fortunes that came to us almost at the beginning and which has lasted throughout the

whole period of service was the privilege of using the Friends Institute at 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, as headquarters for the Service Committee. This came through the kindness and generous spirit of the board of managers of the Institute. The disposal of the rooms put at our service involved a decided sacrifice and carried with it much inconvenience for those who had enjoyed the comfort and the almost constant use of this central meeting-place. It was turned over to us with much grace and revealed how deeply Friends entered heart and soul into the undertaking. We began on the lower floor, but the room was dark and was soon far too small for our operations. We overflowed into adjoining rooms and spaces, until we were in the way of almost everybody. Then we were allowed to "go up higher" to the second floor, where gradually most of the space of this floor became crowded with desks, typewriters, files and busy workers. Here one could see almost any day great duffel bags, rolls and other traveler's kits, either of debarking or returning workers and always it was a busy but interesting scene of activity.

CHAPTER III

"THE HAVERFORD UNIT"

HAVERFORD COLLEGE generously offered its beautiful grounds and buildings to be used as the summer headquarters for organizing and training the group of a hundred men which, for that reason, came to be known as "the Haverford Unit." The members of it, whose names are given in Appendix I, represented all sections of the Society of Friends and also included a small number of men who were not in membership with Friends but who shared in large measure the principles and ideals of the Friends. Four members of the group represented the Fellowship of Reconciliation. There was only one Mennonite in the company, as at this period the bond of fellowship, which later became close between the two religious bodies, had not yet been established. The so-called smaller bodies of Friends (Wilburites) had not yet become interested in the plans which were going forward, but the two larger branches of Friends in America (for want of better names called "Orthodox" and "Hicksite") were proportionately represented in the list of men who were selected to carry our ideals of service into practical execution, though among the workers themselves there was no thought of "branches" nor was there any line of separation. The seventeenth of July 1917 was set as the date—a memorable date to many of us—for assembling at Haverford to begin training. Barclay Hall was assigned to

the unit as living quarters. The dining hall and kitchen were put at the service of the men. The wood-working section of the mechanical engineering building was thrown open. Chase Hall was set apart for classes, while the College Union was occupied for lectures, meetings and entertainments. L. Ralston Thomas, Richard M. Gummere, and Robert G. Brown were selected to form the governing council, to manage and direct the unit during its period of training, with the expectation that Dr. James A. Babbitt, whose summer was engaged at Chautauqua, would join the unit before the period of training was finished and go to France with it as its director.

The brief time which elapsed between the selection of the men and the date of assembling was crowded with multitudinous activity on the part of the various subcommittees, especially on the part of the executive secretary and chairman of the general committee. Many journeys to Washington had to be taken to complete the arrangements with the Red Cross and to secure light from the War Department upon the status of the men who were joining our unit, and upon the probability of their being allowed to leave the country for their proposed service. The "light" that was secured at this stage of the proceedings was, however, never very illuminating! About all we could guess was that a man of draft age would be allowed to leave the country if he signed a promise to return when he was "called." It was necessary to work out in minute detail the plan for summer training, the system of teaching French, the types of occupational training, the list of lectures, the methods of feeding the group, and a long lot of et ceteras. All of which things would have been easy enough for experts, but they were by no means easy problems for the busy men who had them to solve and who

at the same time were wondering whether any concrete service in France would ever open and whether the draft boards would let us have the men who were preparing to train. It was never easy to sleep with peaceful mind during those nights of the interim, nor was it always so even after the interim was over!

There was a strong desire on the part of many Friends that women should have a chance to serve as well as men, and tentative steps were taken to prepare a group of women workers as soon as there should be any prospect that there would be an opening for their service. A subcommittee was appointed to have charge of women's work and to make selection of women workers. A few nurses and social workers were already called for by cable from the London War Victims' Committee, and these were quickly supplied from a long list of willing applicants. Sewing groups were being formed during the early summer in all the communities of Friends throughout the country, and these centers of activity did much to cultivate interest in all the lines of service and also to stimulate young Friends of both sexes to volunteer for service. The remarkable output of the sewing groups will be dealt with in a future chapter.

In order to arouse all young Friends to the significance of the crisis through which the world was passing and which was bound to be a critical epoch for American Friends, the executive board of the Service Committee decided to send out Thomas E. Jones, then secretary of the Young Friends Board of the Five Years Meeting, to hold local conferences with young Friends in all parts of the country, to attend the approaching Yearly Meetings, to present the service work at the coming Cedar Lake Conference of young Friends, and to do field work for the committee between July 1st and September 20th at which time he was to go

to Japan. As definite plans matured, and the knowledge of the proposed service spread abroad among Friends, the response of interest was immediate. Without any pressure and with little organized effort contributions of money began to flow into the treasury so that the problem of raising money was one of the least of the problems. We endeavored to make an arrangement with the Red Cross before the "drive" for $100,000,000 began in the summer of 1917, so that the contributions made by Friends to this "drive" could be set apart for our work. It proved impossible to make this arrangement for the whole country, though a plan was formulated for the Philadelphia district by which Friendly subscribers could make their subscriptions payable to our treasurer and at the same time have them count toward the Red Cross total. The plan was only partly successful, though it brought some goodly increases to our funds.

While these plans and efforts were going forward with what seemed like promise and good augury our commissioners in France were being confronted with many difficulties. The Red Cross commission to France consisted of twenty-one persons representing a large number of phases of work. They obviously could not form their plans quickly nor could they decide any fundamental questions concerning civilian relief until the field of possible operation had been pretty thoroughly surveyed and the whole appalling situation in which France found itself after three years of desolating war was studied. Ernest P. Bicknell of Indiana, a trained social expert who had had much experience in administering relief at times of great catastrophes, was a member of the commission. So, too, was Dr. John Van Schaick of Washington, who had already had extensive experience in dealing with war conditions in Belgium and

Holland. Our two Friends were given every opportunity to co-operate with these two men and with their helpers in their investigation of the conditions of devastated areas and of refugees. The work of relief and reconstruction already accomplished by the English Friends made a deep impression on the commissioners who investigated it, both Friends and non-Friends. This type of work seemed to them a splendid model for America to follow and every one who studied it felt still further convinced that the spirit in which it was being done might well be taken as an ideal to be striven for by any new band of workers. Meantime, however, the days and weeks were passing and no definite plan of service for Friends could yet be formulated for the hundred men who were selected. The War Victims Committee, under existing conditions, could not use many more workers, and in any case, could not, without long delays, secure permits for the workers to engage in the service within the most needy areas. The American Red Cross was not yet ready to offer any concrete service in which men composing the Haverford Unit could be used. Consequently our two commissioners felt compelled to inform us that no door was yet open for us. Three or four days before the hundred men were to arrive at Haverford a cable, dated July 11th, was received saying: "Red Cross not ready for workers. . . . Advise keeping men at home jobs, studying French until needed." The cable indicated that twenty persons, nearly all men, would be needed in the near future and that a plan for using more workers in affiliation with English Friends was under consideration. The message also implied that all Red Cross work,—even the civilian work—might very likely be militarized in the near future.

This cable was a staggering piece of news and gave us

much serious thought. We decided, however, to go straight on with our original plans, to let the hundred men come to Haverford as already arranged, and to have them ready for whatever opportunity might offer. A return cable was sent announcing that a hundred men had already left their homes and were in training, and that we were counting upon the formation of plans in France that would give them a future field of service. Steps were taken at the same time to send at once the men and women for whom openings had been found in connection with the War Victims work.

On the evening of July 16th the men composing the unit were arriving at Haverford, registering in the never-to-be-forgotten improvised office in "North Barclay" and being assigned to their quarters. The following general schedule of training had been adopted:

5:45 A.M.	Time of rising, followed by ten minutes of physical exercise in front of Barclay.
6:30 A.M.	Breakfast, followed by washing of dishes and room work.
7:30– 8:25 A.M.	Talks by members of the Council or of the Unit.
8:30– 9:25 A.M.	Talks by specialists on Social Service, sanitation, hygiene, conditions in France, etc.
9:30–11:30 A.M.	Study of French under several competent instructors.
12:00 M.	Dinner.
2:00– 5:30 P.M.	Squad work in carpentry, mason-work, agriculture, road-making, auto repairing, and other forms of technical skill.

6:00 P.M.	Supper.
7:00 P.M.	Devotional Meeting.
7:30 P.M.	A lecture every other night dealing with the world conditions, with special reference as far as possible to France and the future work of the Unit.

The day was so full that no time was available for newspaper reading and consequently one member of the unit was detailed to present each evening, at the close of the devotional meeting, a survey of the news of the day. Lewis S. Gannett generally did this and he did it with much insight and thereby rendered to everybody a distinctly important service. One of the happy features of the training time was the publication of a weekly paper (begun August 14th) called *L'Equipe,* of which Lewis S. Gannett was editor. It contained much amusing material, some experiments in French composition and verse-writing, and considerable valuable information. Four numbers of *L'Equipe* were issued. The devotional meetings were a feature of the day and from the first an effort was made to fuse the whole undertaking with a deep religious spirit.

The lectures in the morning and evening were of a very high order. Most of the speakers were experts and spoke to the men out of long experience and brought real illumination to them. For the most part they gave their services and in some cases made large sacrifices to assist us. The French instruction, which was arranged and directed by President W. W. Comfort, then just entering upon his career as President of Haverford, was admirable throughout. The men, most of whom were in "the empty tablet" state as to French, made astonishing progress and found

themselves greatly advanced by the summer's work. The squad work, which was divided into departments as indicated above, filled the afternoons. It was a summer of unusual heat but the men worked with zeal and diligence, mastering the mysteries of threshing machines, the stubbornness of farm tractors, and the endless mechanical diseases which old "Fords" and auto trucks are heir to. The township commissioners gave us excellent opportunities to learn the art of road-making. The Haverford College farmer found that some of the men already knew nearly all there was to know about agriculture but he also found that some of them, like the ancient Ninevites, did not yet "know their right hand from their left" in these matters. These "unskilled laborers," however, were quick learners and made excellent progress. Everybody in turn worked at carpentry and a selected number, under good teaching, learned how to construct brick and stone foundations and how to make mortar and "concrete."

The appetites which these afternoon squads developed were memorable. Our food was always abundant and well cooked, but the *menu* was not extensive nor marked by great variety. The service was performed by the men themselves and the dishes were washed by the squads taking turns. The actual cooking was done by a trained employee. There was a certain roughness to the fare but it furnished the necessary fuel for the physical efforts and it was an appropriate preparation for the later experiences in the French *équipes*.

One of our complicated problems concerned the clothing and equipment of the men. At first we merely took over the uniforms which the men in the Emergency Unit had worn. These were cleansed and renovated and served our unit well in the period of training, though they were

far too heavy for a Pennsylvania summer. Ralston Thomas, already a good deal of an expert, gave much time and thought to the selection of a permanent outfit which gradually took shape as our service abroad became assured. Blankets for future service, camp beds, and all the paraphernalia for outdoor life and work began to accumulate in the Barclay Hall rooms. Into the midst of our beehive of activity suddenly came the immense fact of the army draft which selected out a large group of our men for a totally different type of service than the one for which we were busily preparing. This story of the draft and how it affected us must wait for another chapter.

Meanwhile, as the summer went on, J. Henry Scattergood and Morris E. Leeds in France were successfully pushing forward the arrangements for a great field of work in union with English Friends and in conjunction with the American Red Cross. A letter written by Henry Scattergood from Paris July 11th, the day the above mentioned cable was sent, gives a clear account of the situation which faced the two commissioners and the prospect at that time for an American service in France. The letter said in part: "As for *reconstruction,* the problem is most complicated. It is a fact that many thousands of homes have been destroyed, sometimes whole villages being wiped out. It is clear that rebuilding in permanent form is a task beyond even the $100,000,000 of the Red Cross if it all were to go to houses, and it is necessarily beyond the scope of temporary relief measures. The French Government regards the loss of each individual as a national loss to be paid for by the nation as a whole, the damages to be paid to the individual sufferers when such damages can be properly assessed. This question of such assessment and awards is now being discussed in the French Parliament.

In some localities local Boards are beginning to make assessments with the hope of expediting it. Evidently work of a permanent character is impracticable on privately-owned property until all these questions are settled, and we are told that often owners do not want any clearing done yet for fear of interfering with the proofs of their losses. Yet it is evidently advantageous to get the people back when and if they can find a place to live so that the land can be tilled, and so that the overcrowded conditions of other places can be relieved. The natural solution is the temporary hut that the English Friends have devised to serve for the years until permanent rebuilding can be worked out. Yet even these need much preparatory work to be done before they can be built or our men can start work on them. They have to be made in sections in some part of France where the lumber can be obtained, as for instance in Dôle in the Jura. A mill of large dimensions in floor space and storage capacity (to season lumber) has to be found or built before this work can be started. Then the houses have to be shipped to the War Zone before anything can be done there, and this may take weeks or months. If any great military work is on, civilian shipments are postponed indefinitely. The English Friends, for instance, are only just receiving their first 20 houses to be erected in the newly released district in the Somme, although they have been waiting for many weeks for them and also *for the permits to go there.* Our preconception of a group of 100 of our men rapidly arranging themselves among the destroyed villages, building the houses, already at hand, in a short time, and passing on to the next village to repeat the operation, is utterly impossible of immediate execution, although some may hope to work to this when once under way."

In spite of these difficulties our Friends achieved the

signal success of formulating a plan of work, admirably adapted to our purpose and capable of constant adjustment to fit the shifting circumstances abroad. The complete plan of work as outlined will be presented later; it is sufficient to say at this point that the reports by cable and letters which informed us that positive plans of work were being made, and that the door for service was actually to open, gave us the liveliest joy and brought immense inspiration to the workers toiling at their tasks of preparation. As soon as we found that we were likely to construct demountable houses in France, we got a blue print of the type of house, changed it from the scale of meters to a scale of feet, and built a sample house on a brick foundation which our own "masons" laid. Morris E. Leeds returned home in August and brought us much definite information and aroused fresh inspiration for our daily work of preparation. After the middle of August Richard M. Gummere felt compelled to withdraw from the Council of Direction and L. Hollingsworth Wood took his place and contributed very greatly to the fine spirit of fellowship which steadily increased as the summer advanced. At the end of August Dr. James A. Babbitt joined the Unit in person, took charge of the final physical examination of the men, and took direction of the finishing stages of training. He undertook his work in a devoted spirit and he put earnestness of heart into all that he did.

As the six weeks of life together at Haverford drew toward a close, those of us who were most deeply interested in the success of the venture *knew* that we had a splendid band of men going forth to the tasks over seas, and, I can say for one, that they had won my love and affection and confidence.

CHAPTER IV

THE WORK OF ENGLISH FRIENDS AND THE PLAN OF COOPERATION WITH IT

SOME time—in the near future, we hope—the story of the English Friends' work for relief in France will be told as it deserves to be told. It was launched, as has already been said, very soon after the war began. The entrance of the British Friends into the field is well described in a few paragraphs by J. Thompson Elliott of London, himself a pioneer in their plans:

"As the tragedy unfolded in the first few weeks of the war, English Friends burned with the desire to do something—anything—to relieve the anguish and misery which, it was only too clear, would exist on a scale so appalling as to constitute the supreme call of a lifetime. It is probable that the first Friends to get into contact with any refugees were those at Folkestone, Kent, where streams of Belgians were being landed. Large numbers of these were fed and temporarily housed at Folkestone Meeting House, and the Peace Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings began to consider what service Friends might have amongst Belgian refugees in Holland.

"Simultaneously, Dr. Hilda Clark had envisaged the need for medicinal and nursing work among the civil population of stricken and invaded France, and with the aid of T. Edmund Harvey, M. P. and Edith M. Pye, was striving hard to find the right channel through which to move. Her con-

cern and that of the Peace committee were laid before the Meeting for Sufferings on the 4th of September 1914, and both were warmly endorsed by the meeting, which appointed a small committee including William A. Albright, who subsequently became chairman, to take up the work and make known to Friends what was being done, and to appeal for workers and money. The sum asked for to begin with was 3000 pounds. Hilda Clark and T. Edmund Harvey acted as joint Hon. Secretaries and the work was carried on at 8 Mylne St., Middleton Square, London, E. C.

"Meantime another pioneer was taking action, and on the 20th of September, less than a fortnight after the Battle of the Marne, George Henry Mennell, accompanied by his wife, who is a Frenchwoman, started for Paris armed with the actual passport and brassard with the red and black star carried by his father Henry Tuke Mennell in 1870-71 when a member of the Friends' War Victims Relief Expedition in the Franco-Prussian War."

T. Edmund Harvey and Dr. C. D. Holdsworth went to Holland the latter part of September, 1914 to investigate the condition of refugees there and about the same time Edith M. Pye went to France to see what could be done by Friends by way of nursing and medical relief. J. Edward Hodgkin and Gulielma Crosfield followed up the study of conditions in Holland. T. Edmund Harvey went to France early in October and made preliminary arrangements for the beginning of a Quaker Mission. This visit was followed almost immediately by the visit of the little party of Friends which included George Henry Mennell and his wife and his brother Edward Mennell. Gradually the plans took shape, the home committee was organized with William A. Albright as chairman and during the early stage with Edmund Wright Brooks and A. Ruth Fry as executive secretaries.

Edmund Harvey went on a second trip to Bordeaux to secure permissions for the expedition to begin operations and on November 4th the first installment of the French Mission started for its field of service under the leadership of T. Edmund Harvey and Dr. Hilda Clark, a granddaughter of John Bright. There were twenty-five in the party. The workers adopted as their brassard the famous star of black and red which the Quaker Relief workers had worn in the Franco-Prussian War. They were assigned to the district of the Marne and soon selected Sermaize, a dreadfully devastated town, as the headquarters of their operations.

The main part of the English Friends' Relief work was established in the Valley of the upper Marne, between Bar-le-Duc to the southeast and Châlons-sur-Marne to the northwest, the extreme line occupied by the Germans. Bar-le-Duc was not destroyed at all, and Châlons-sur-Marne was very little damaged.

Two classes which suffered most from conditions, especially in or near the war-zone, were naturally the children, and the expectant mothers. A Maternity Hospital was established by English Friends at Châlons in 1914, as being among the first things to require attention. About five hundred babies had been born there when the American Commission visited it, and care had been exercised from the hospital over released patients, and also as far as possible over the welfare of all small children within reach.

A Children's Hospital was also established at Bettancourt, in a château loaned by the Countess Morrillot. Here sick or nerve-shattered children were received for care and treatment, as well as a number of others whose families were "sticking to their homes" in dangerous places. "An illustration of the conditions which made this home and

hospital necessary is that of a little girl who was brought there by her mother with the remark that she could not keep her at home because she could not make her keep her gas-mask on."

The taking of children away from bombarded districts and placing them in safe and healthy country places was an early concern to the Friends' Relief. The largest single piece of work of this kind was the taking of the children away from Rheims and vicinity, almost continuously under bombardment, where the 7,000 remaining inhabitants of the former 120,000, were dodging about from cellar to cellar. The gratitude and relief of the parents was very great, and the eagerness of the poor little nervous children to go into safety and to play once more—an almost forgotten art—was pathetic. Not only play did the children long for, but lessons. In many cases they had had no school since the beginning of the war. Here was another chance for Friends to serve.

Overcrowding of people in cellars, or in ill-ventilated rooms, tended to induce tuberculosis. Friends started a convalescent home at Samoëns, in the Haute-Savoie, for incipient tubercular patients from Paris and other cities, and another, at the time of the visit of the American Commission, had just been opened at Entremont.

District nursing centers had been established at Châlons, Bar-le-Duc, Troyes, Sermaize, Paris and other places. At Sermaize, also, there was at this time a small Friends' hospital for women and children with a doctor, dentist, and several nurses, attending both out- and in-patients.

Reconstruction and agricultural work were progressing. Friends had adopted the plan of placing comparatively few workers in each village, so that, living for several months among the people, they "established with them just the

kind of intimate and friendly relationship," says a member of the American Commission, "which is such an admirable characteristic of their work." They believed that the ministration of personal and intimate friendship and good-will was as important as physical aid in helping these homeless and bereft people to attack anew the problem of living with courage and hope.

In Sermaize, one hundred and three of the portable wooden houses—*maisons démontables*—of which the parts were made in England and shipped over to be put together where required—had been erected by the Friends' Relief. Each house was surmounted by a garden, now well under cultivation. No civilian who had fled from his home when the Germans came was permitted to return to his village unless he had a place to stay. The first thing to do, therefore, was to provide a hut or temporary place to live in for the people who were sheltering in neighboring cities, but were eager to get back to their land. When the American Commission visited this district, they found Friends engaged on five villages northeast of Ham, which had been assigned them by the Minister of the Interior, and starting at Tuguy by building a hut for the Mayor so that he could return. He was a large landowner, and could give employment to many of his townspeople as soon as huts and tools were provided for them. At Villers-St. Christophe, another of the five villages, the Mayor had already returned, and was working hard for the re-establishment of the village. In this place the Germans had been in occupation for quite a while, and before their departure had cleared out all the civilian population, and kept them in a strange village, imprisoned in a few houses, while they wrecked Villers-St. Christophe. The first to work her way back was a young woman, who at once took hold of what would ordinarily

have been the Mayor's work, and managed things so well for the two months until the aged Mayor's return that the Sous-Préfet of the Department had already sent materials for building and had erected a large hut to provide shelter for any villagers that might come back.

It is not only the homing instinct and old associations that bring the peasants back to the sites of their ruined houses; they have a way of burying their money in the ground—all their little savings— and come to hunt for it. A pathetic sight.

To realize some few of the problems of re-starting agricultural work in a war area, the following description given by one of our commissioners aids the imagination:

"Our itinerary from Compiègne took us the first afternoon for several miles along the old fronts, and in addition to our observation of the damage done to the towns of Servaise, Ollencourt, Tracy-le-Val and Bailly, we had a most interesting opportunity to go into the old trenches of both armies. The amount of work done was prodigious, in a perfect network of trenches and communicating trenches, all seven feet deep at the least. In many places elaborate underground houses of one room, two rooms and sometimes more had been made. Their roofs were arched with corrugated steel or with steel girders, over which there were several feet of earth. In some cases the floors and ceilings were of cement. In the case of the German dugouts and shelters, they were much more elaborate and comfortable than the French. We visited a group of such shelters built of huge logs with four feet of earth over them and the whole hidden in a thick wood behind high entrenchments. The Germans had electric lights in many places. They even had a bowling alley and little garden patches and flowers. So much grass had already grown up around these old trenches that the way is often hidden, and great care is needed in going about because of the danger of unexploded shells and grenades. The French are forcing German

prisoners to clean up and take out the logs and iron, etc., which are worth saving, and we saw much material stored up which had been salvaged in this way from these old trenches.

"But where the land has been cut up by trenches and shelled, a great deal of filling in and levelling will have to be done before it can be used again for agricultural purposes. We suppose these belts of 'no man's land,' including these trenches and shelled fields, will have to be left to the last in any case. Vast belts of barbed wire entanglements also stretch across the countryside in many places. These are perhaps thirty feet wide and the wires are supported on steel posts or 'horses' about three feet from the ground. These belts are being left for the present, and in some cases we saw the crops growing close up to both sides of them."

Sermaize was the largest center of the English Friends Relief Work, and had about thirty workers stationed there. From this center many of them went out into the surrounding districts with seeds, rabbits, and chickens to distribute, and with agricultural implements to lend, and in some cases to give. One hundred and fifty mowing machines, forty-two reapers and binders, five motor threshing-machines, and five horse-power threshing machines had been loaned or given to various villages in this way to be used by the entire community, or were being taken out and operated by Friend relief workers for the cost of the gasoline. They also had a Mogul tractor which pulled three plows and was in great demand during the plowing season. This department had distributed forty-five tons of potatoes for seed, in the spring of 1917, and would have distributed 200 tons, for which they had orders, if it had not been for delays due to congested traffic and to the fact that the French Department of Agriculture was overworked.

This gives some idea as to need, and the ways which were

already in operation to meet the need in France in the summer of 1917 when the American Friends' Service Committee was preparing to come in and help.

It is hard for those who have never lived in an invaded country to get a true picture of the state of France in the war zone at the time our work began, and harder still for those familiar only with American landscape and communities to realize what France required in the way of restoration. J. Henry Scattergood, writing from Paris in July, 1917, describes the Marne region as follows:

"To a very large extent it is agricultural, but so far as we saw there is almost nothing that compares with our American farms. The land is divided up into a great number of small pieces—half an acre to one or two acres—which are individually owned, and apparently never fenced. One travels through these regions for miles at a time without seeing a house, although all of the land which is not wooded is or has been quite extensively farmed. The people's homes and barns are gathered together in villages, from which they go out to their farm operations, and to which they carry all their harvest crops, and in which they keep all their live-stock. The village street usually presents on either side an unbroken front of houses; to each one of these there is a large door, through which wagons loaded with hay can be driven. The dwelling is at the front, and is directly connected with various buildings back to a fair-sized barn in which hay, etc., is stored. In this barn or in the buildings between it and the house the live-stock is kept. The villages and towns range from those in which there is very little except the homes of the peasant farmers to very much larger towns having a considerable industrial community in addition to the farming population. . . .

"From what we can gather, by talking with our English Friends who have worked among them, the peasant class here is represented by no similar class at home. These small farmers, while they are hard-working and live very simple lives, are

thoroughly self-respecting and self-supporting, and are said to have considerable savings. Few, if any, of the pauper class exist. Among them family ties are very strong, and unfortunate members of families are helped by their relatives."

Many of the villages that had come in the direct range of the Battle of the Marne were nothing but shapeless heaps of rubbish. The method of destruction, though very expensive, was at least thorough. The few inhabitants who crept back like animals to their burrows could find no shelter except in the cellars underground. There, as civilians in the war-zone, they had to take their chance, until some foreign relief agency which had time for the job came and looked them up and saved them from dying of starvation and exposure. The English Friends were first in this field, though other organizations followed them.

Some villages were only partly destroyed, and here the people naturally all crowded into the remaining houses, their numbers added to by those who fled from the entirely ruined villages. Problems of food and clothing, not to mention civilized living, became acute under these conditions.

With farm machinery broken, farm-horses taken for military purposes and all the younger and able-bodied men away in the fighting ranks, despair and apathy fell on the naturally self-helping peasantry. They did not see how to begin life again. Their whole world was wrecked, and they did not know where to begin to re-make it.

One of the greatest gifts brought to them by the Friends relief work was Hope. And the physical expression of that hope was tools for labor. Of those who gave the order for the deliberate destruction of the tools of the peasants in those villages occupied and destroyed by the invader, one can only say—"Father, forgive them, for they *knew not*

what they did." To strike at the morale of an enemy country presents itself as legitimate to an imagination hardened by war to ignore the individual; but what man, if he could catch the vision for a moment, could strike deliberately at the sanity, the mental and spiritual balance, the essential humanity of hundreds of innocent fellow-creatures?

The Society of Friends, "thinking nobly of the soul" and desiring to set spiritual restoration in the fore-front of their service, brought not only clothes and food and medical aid, but tools, and helpers who would work cheerily alongside and start going the work of the revival of civilization in the suddenly created desert.

The Friends relief work was organized under four sections, though each interlocked with, and closely co-operated with the others,—Medical, Relief work and industry, Reconstruction, and Agriculture. The people they had to help were divided into three classes—those who were living in the cellars or among the rubbish of their former homes in destroyed villages; the refugees who had fled from these villages to others less destroyed, or had fled before the German advance; the repatriated. These last were people who had been caught behind the German lines by the first swift advance, or had been captured and sent there later, and were being returned by the Germans on account of their being too old or too young or too ill to be of any use. In the summer of 1917 these *rapatriés* were coming through Switzerland at the rate of one to two thousand a day.

Even with every facility, the work would have been hard enough to handle, but Henry Scattergood writes regarding the English Friends in the Marne:

"Their problem is beset with very great difficulties, which must be experienced to be appreciated at their full value, but even

a very brief contact with it shows how many hindrances there are to be overcome. Strange people with unfamiliar customs must be dealt with in a foreign language. Permission must be obtained from the military or other authorities for almost every journey and for every change of residence. Innumerable officials, high and low, local and at Paris, are to be consulted about every line of work. Movements of materials and all these other matters must be arranged through officials tremendously overworked and with resources overstrained by the war. Coöperation has to be arranged with numerous other relief societies, French and foreign, and necessarily giving precedence to military movements. Pacifists and men of an age to fight who engage in civilian work are regarded with suspicion, and this is a recurring cause of trouble and delay. The work has to be done with inadequate facilities, often under very crowded and uncomfortable conditions, and last winter, which was unusually cold, under severe discomfort due to lack of fuel and poor houses. All these discouragements they seem to have met cheerfully, patiently and with persistent good judgment. They have among them men and women of a wide variety of training and background, doctors and nurses, architects, mechanics, farmers, social workers and men of multifarious business experience, as well as younger people recently out of school and college. All these seem perfectly willing to work along lines where their training may count, or for long stretches at humble and menial tasks, as occasion may demand. Everything they do seems to be inspired with a combination of untiring good-will and practical wisdom, which has secured them a firm place in the affections of the people whom they serve, and the highest praise from competent critics who have studied their work. In talking with us, as in their printed reports, they were very modest about their accomplishments and emphasized mistakes and failures to be guarded against, but we have seen enough to know that these must have been small in comparison with their successes. Out of a group of people, largely unknown to each other, from this wide variety of business and social experience, and of constantly changing individuals,

they have organized themselves into an effective society which is doing its work so well that Dr. Van Schaick, who has known relief work in many lands, said that it was the best that he had ever seen."

Many of the refugees crowded back into the larger towns a little behind the war zone, where they lived in great misery and squalor, having to pay from 20 to 50 francs a month for a small room, 12 by 15 feet, in which three to six people were forced to live together, slum-fashion, sleeping, cooking, eating, and working in the same place. The wretchedness of this kind of life was keenly felt by families who had been accustomed to comfortable independence. Often they were without the barest household necessaries in their cramped quarters, and for clothing had only the light summer garments in which they had made their flight.

The Friends distributed adequate clothing and simple furniture to them as fast as possible,—a bed, small stove, simple wardrobe, and a few other things. As soon as these people found work—which, on account of the large amount of military work being done in the larger towns, most of them were quickly able to do—they paid for the furniture in installments. For the old people, or women who could not go out to work, Friends started some simple industries, especially a simple type of embroidery, done in bright coloured wools, designed by Margery Fry for women who were not already expert needlewomen. This embroidery "caught on" tremendously, and the English South Kensington Museum asked for specimens of it as a sample of a new domestic art being started among the French.

The work which was undertaken in 1914 involved vast expenditures of money which Friends in Great Britain, with some small help from America, gave with astonishing liberality. The group of workers which in the summer of

1917 numbered 145, served entirely on a volunteer basis, they were infused with a wonderful spirit, they were greatly favored in the type of their leaders, they had the confidence of the French authorities and the French people and they made, as has been indicated, a profound impression upon all who saw the extent and quality of their work. In this inheritance it became the good fortune of American Friends to share.

Tentative plans for a union of our proposed work with that of English Friends were already well under way when the cable and letter of July 11th were sent by our two commissioners.

In a letter written on that date, Morris Leeds and Henry Scattergood said:

"We have had two long conferences with the English Friends' Executive Committee [i.e., the Paris Committee] for the discussion of this subject. They surprised and pleased us by making the suggestion that the American Friends be taken into their group on exactly the same standing as their own. They feel that this arrangement will present less difficulties than any less thorough-going method of coöperation. This does not mean that American and English Friends shall always be mixed in every enterprise. It may often happen that groups of workers will be chiefly or entirely of one or the other nationality or whether so made up or made up of an approximately equal mixture of the two, the groups will be represented in the same way on the Central Committee and the work will be coördinated by that Committee."

This was the first proposal of the complete union of forces. It was a bold solution of the problem but it was the only right solution of it and we cannot be too thankful for the way in which it was both formulated and executed. Ernest P. Bicknell and Dr. John Van Schaick gave many

important suggestions and much real help in working out the details of the scheme of co-operation which of course involved our connection with the Red Cross.

"The English Friends' work is managed by an Executive Committee that is comprised of either the President, T. Edmund Harvey, or his representative, of five members elected at large by the workers in France and of the Department heads. This Committee meets once a month. There is also a General Committee that meets once in six months that is considerably larger and is an entirely elected body, the function of which is to discuss general policies. It does not appear to have any executive powers. The American workers coming into the work would have the same opportunity to vote for members on these committees and to themselves be members of the committees as the English workers have.

We expect to go to England as soon as we can make the necessary arrangements to take this matter up with the London Committee. We should like to know to what extent you are willing to give us power to conclude an arrangement for American Friends along these lines or any other lines that may seem to us advisable. We should like you to make these powers as broad as you feel you can. The above suggestion is liable to revision from a number of quarters although tentatively approved by the Executive Committee here. This was done at an informal meeting and before they can finally approve it, it has to be announced to the membership at large and passed tentatively at a regular meeting of the Executive Committee. There is of course also a very good chance that it will have to be modified to meet the views of the Red Cross and a possibility that the Committee in London may make some objections although this is not expected."

Grayson Murphy wrote a letter to our commissioners on August 6th, 1917 in which he outlined the basis of co-operation in harmony with the general plan as above sug-

gested. The American Friends Service Committee was to select, equip, transport and maintain at its own expense the personnel of the Friends Unit. This unit was to become a bureau of the Civilian Department of the Red Cross and at the same time was granted permission to merge with the English Friends to form the Anglo-American Mission of the Society of Friends. "You would expect us," the letter says, "to assist you as far as possible in obtaining passes and permissions to carry on your work, and would also advise us of your needs in the way of funds or supplies so that we might, as far as possible, assist you in securing the funds or supplies that might be necessary for your operations. We cannot of course commit ourselves as to the extent to which we could assist your Unit in these matters as the amount of assistance we could give would be determined by the extent of our resources and by the requirements of the various lines of work in which we may be engaged." Major Murphy closed his letter with these important words: "I am thoroughly in accord with your views as explained to me. I believe your work can be most effective and I assure you that it is not only my intention but my great desire that the American Red Cross organization here and at home should extend to your work the fullest and most sympathetic co-operation and support."

The definite plan as it finally took shape and was adopted by the Paris Executive Committee, and was later accepted by the War Victims Committee and by the American Service Committee, was as follows:

1. It is understood that American Friends will work under the auspices of the American Red Cross Commission, who will be asked to assign to the Friends' Unit in France workers selected by the American Friends' Service Committee for this purpose from amongst men holding conscientious objections to all war and

women in sympathy with such views. The Friends' Field Committee to be the judge as to the number of such workers which it can usefully employ, subject to the approval of the London Committee.

2. The American Red Cross Commission shall be invited to appoint one of their number to attend meetings of the Friends' Field Committee in France.

3. American and English Friends in France shall unite their work in one organization which shall be called—*"Mission de la Société des Amis."*

4. The American Friends' Service Committee shall be invited to send out two responsible Friends, a man and a woman, who shall be ultimately responsible to them and to the American Red Cross Commission for the welfare and conduct of American Friends sent to France. These two Friends shall be members of the French Field Committee.

5. The work in France shall be directed by the French Field Committee, and by the Friends' Service Committee in America exercised through their representatives on the Field Committee. We suggest that the London Committee might invite a representative of the American Committee to join their number.

6. The details of coöperation shall be reconsidered, if it is desired, after some months' work.

7. We strongly urge our American Friends to adopt the gray uniform which is now so well known to the authorities and to the people amongst whom we work, and which is so definitely associated with the non-military character of our work. It is also felt that a marked distinction of uniform will seriously prejudice the unity of our organization.

I had during this period while plans were developing abroad many personal interviews with Henry P. Davison and with his subordinate helpers in Washington who had become thoroughly sympathetic with our aims and ready to forward our purposes in every way in their power. As soon as the definite plan was brought to shape in Paris H. P.

Davison heartily accepted it and always gave us his loyal support in the execution of it. His assistant Mr. Egan and his efficient secretary Mr. Foley rendered us so many services and gave us so much wise counsel out of their large experience that they deserve special mention in this place.

The conference in London between our two commissioners and the War Victims Committee proved to be most satisfactory, London Friends showed much cordiality and the mutual plans went forward along the lines outlined above. The Red Cross officials both in Paris and Washington cooperated heartily in the formulation of the plan of union and thus, with a display of wisdom and insight on the part of all concerned, the famous triangular "merger," to adopt an American commercial phrase, was finally arranged.

The plan of union enabled us from the beginning of our foreign service to have the benefit of the long experience of the English workers, to enter into a group that had already "found itself" and to start on a far higher level than could have been possible if we had undertaken to launch a wholly new venture. The Red Cross officials saw the unusual advantages of association with the English work as clearly as we did and they were eager to promote the union. From our point of view the association with the American Red Cross was clearly essential to the working success of the plan. One of the gravest difficulties of relief work in France was the difficulty of securing permits to go to the devastated areas or in fact to go anywhere. Our difficulties in this matter were naturally increased by the fact that our workers were known to be in the main conscientious objectors to war. Without the confidence and the backing of a great efficient organization, such as the Red Cross, it was not likely that permits could be secured. The English workers were experiencing more and more delay and were

finding the permit-difficulty an ever increasing one. Transportation of materials, equipment and supplies was another operation beset with heavy difficulties. In fact as the war went on and the complications increased it became perfectly evident that we could never have shipped our large stock of material from America to France, nor from Paris to the areas of service, without this close connection with the Red Cross, which treated us as a part of itself.

About the time our arrangements for the services of the Haverford Unit were completed Homer Folks was made American Red Cross Director of Civil Affairs in France, so that our Bureau came under his direction and our intimate relations with this rare expert relief worker began. It was one more of the many pieces of good fortune with which we were favored.

The beautiful co-operative spirit of the English workers in France is shown in a minute adopted by the Paris Executive and sent to our Philadelphia Committee. It was as follows:

"It is with the greatest pleasure that we have taken the opportunity of merging our work with yours. If with three years of experience behind us we can be of assistance to you, you can be of equal assistance to us with your energy and fresh point of view. We can see how this has already been so, and how it will be still more so in the future.

"We hope that this fusion of efforts in such truly Quaker service will be a means of binding Quakers from all the ends of the world still more closely together. American, British, Australian and Canadian Friends are working out here side by side in the service of humanity, a circumstance that must afford an almost unique spectacle of spiritual unity.

"We are sure that the common work of American and British Friends for the assistance of the stricken of a third country will help to obliterate the memory of our past misunderstandings and

so point the way to a real brotherhood of Nations, far transcending mere temporary alliances for the satisfaction of national ambitions."

Thus I can bring to an end a very important chapter in the history of the development of the plans of the Friends Service Committee.

CHAPTER V

PROBLEMS OF THE DRAFT

A STRENUOUS effort was made in Washington to have the Draft Law include a provision of exemption for persons who had sincere conscientious objections to military service. The men who drew up the Bill were afraid that such a provision would offer an easy way of escape to cowards and "slackers." They saw no way to discriminate between the "sincere" objector and the spurious one. They felt a certain amount of confidence in the honesty and sincerity of the religious denominations which had borne a long historic testimony against war and whose members had proved their faith in days past by patient suffering voluntarily undergone in its support. The Government, therefore, refused to go farther than to make some provision for the members of religious denominations whose fundamental principles were opposed and were known to be opposed to war. There were three well-known denominations to which the provision applied: The Friends, the Mennonites and the Brethren or Dunkards, and there were a few other small sects which had a corresponding position.

It soon appeared that the provision, which had been carefully confined to members of religious denominations, did not really exempt even these persons from non-combatant military service. This point first became clear to us through a letter which Provost Marshal General Crowder wrote to me June 28th, 1917. He said: "I have your letter

of June 25th in which you ask whether members of the Society of Friends who desire to go to France to engage in reconstruction work in devastated districts, can go abroad before the draft under the Selective Service Law and specifically whether these persons will be liable to draft, and, if drafted, whether they can be granted exemption on the basis of the service in which they may be engaged in France and whether their exemption can be obtained by agents in the United States." General Crowder in his well known direct way proceeded to inform us that no person subject to draft was to be dealt with by "administrative action" in Washington since the exclusive power to determine upon exemptions rested with "Exemption Boards." He further said that any person granted a permit to go abroad for relief service must return home at once if selected by his Board for military service. And finally he gave us this item of information: "It is true that there is a provision in the law for the exemption of persons who are members of religious organizations whose creed is opposed to war, but these persons are not exempted from non-combatant service. Whether the War Department will decide that service under the direction of the Red Cross is such non-combatant service as contemplated by law, I am unable to say." The clause in the Selective Service Law dealing with this particular matter left to the President the decision of the question as to what should constitute non-combatant service, though, as General Crowder said, the problem was *practically* in the hands of the War Department.

The day of the Draft was of course a memorable time and every member of the Unit at Haverford naturally watched the results with the keenest interest. A large number of the Unit men were drawn and we began at once to handle their cases. Henry J. Cadbury was called in to assist the

officers of the service committee in this work arising in connection with the draft and his services in this connection were very important. He became an expert upon the delicate matters in his hands and he gave an immense amount of time and patient work to the affairs of the Unit. His services not only at this time but also throughout the following year were of a high order.

In all matters concerning those who were subject to the draft William B. Harvey was a zealous and active worker. He was appointed Secretary of the Exemption Committee of Philadelphia Representative meeting (orthodox), for which service he was well fitted. He was possessed of abounding energy and he proved himself to be a warm and sympathetic friend to all who were exposed to suffering. He also did much to bring Friends and Mennonites into closer contact. It was our deepest desire in all this sphere of work to be thoroughly consistent with the principles of our faith. We could not settle problems of conscience for others than ourselves and we did not undertake to do so. We were providing for an extensive piece of civilian relief service in which we proposed to give a sphere of action for men who felt in their heart of hearts that they could not engage in war and who at the same time felt just as emphatically that they could not meet the issue passively and do nothing to manifest their courage and their positive faith in the power of love. It seemed to us absolutely right to turn the energies of young Friends into this constructive work and to give them every possible opportunity to make in the midst of war and the desolations of war a great contribution of love. We did not consider our service *a way of escape* from military service nor (what was more important) did we consider it a way of escape from a testimony of suffering to be borne in military prisons. At this stage

we assumed, no doubt too hastily, that the President and the Exemption Boards would gladly recognize that our reconstruction work abroad was a voluntary and unforced type of non-combatant service, entirely satisfactory for the fulfilment of the provisions of the law. Very different questions of policy and principle arose as the meaning of the draft provisions slowly unfolded, but in the first period our course of action seemed fairly clear and plain.

We went, often in little groups of three, to talk over with Secretary of War Baker the problems confronting our men. These visits always called for a large amount of patience and for very quick action when the moment of opportunity came. Secretary Baker was a much sought man in those critical days. His ante-room was crowded usually to its utmost capacity. He would make a definite appointment with us to see him, perhaps at 10 o'clock in the morning. We were sure to be there on time. And we were also sure to find that there were many others too who had appointments. Gradually we would watch the group of visitors thinning away and see our turn approaching, when suddenly a delegation of senators would appear, or some army chief would come in, or the French Ambassador would enter and all our calculations would be upset. Occasionally we would make the discovery that Secretary Baker had just been called to a conference in the State Department or that he had received a visit through an inner door from the Secretary of the Navy. The slow hands of the clock would move round the dial and we still waited for our interview. At last, at about one o'clock, the door would open and the little, short secretary, dynamic to his finger tips, would appear, give us a hearty welcome, somewhat vaguely answer our urgent queries and send us away with a hope that before long he could give us some definite light on the

situation. It was on the occasion of these visits that we came to know Dr. F. W. Keppel who at this time was private secretary to the Secretary of War. Dr. Keppel was from the first exceedingly kind to us and always gave us generous attention and as much information and counsel as lay at his disposal. He was at a later period Third Assistant Secretary of War and our many relations with him in this position will be told in due time.

In order to try every source which could give us any light upon the status of non-combatant service, we went to the White House one day and through the cordial co-operation of the President's Secretary sent in to the President a written account of our ideals, our plans, and our purposes. We asked him to give us as much light as he could upon the important issues which were involved in our undertaking, especially whether our proposed work abroad would stand in his mind as the kind which he eventually intended to recognize as "non-combatant service." To this communication the President sent the following interesting reply:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 28, 1917.

My dear Mr. Jones:

I have received your letter of August 15th, with regard to the work of the reconstruction unit for relief and reconstruction work in the devastated war zones in northern France.

The Secretary of War informs me that there will be no difficulty about the securing of passports for members of the unit, unless they are of draft age and included in the first draft, the rule being that any man who is not to be called in the first draft may leave the country upon the understanding that he will return should his services be later required.

The question as to whether the work of these reconstruction

units can be designated as non-combatant service for conscientious objectors cannot now be determined. The varieties of conscientious objection developed in the application of the selective conscription law have been so numerous as to make it necessary to delay the establishment of a policy until we can be sure that we have both satisfied the requirements of the law and gone just as far as we can justly go in the recognition of the rights of individual conscience in such a matter. When the total number of persons interposing conscientious objection to military service has been ascertained, I hope to be able to work out with the Secretary of War a plan which will give the nation the benefit of the service of these men without injustice to the great company of young men who are free to accept their country's call to military duty.

In the meantime, I am sure you will permit me to express my deep appreciation of the reconstruction work proposed, and my happiness that it is being carried out in association with the Red Cross which is already doing a great work in France to express the heart of America.

Cordially yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

As the various "rulings" were issued from the office of Provost Marshal General Crowder, it became steadily more clear that the apparent exemption provided by the Draft Act for Friends did not in fact secure them from actual military service. In view of the increasing seriousness of the situation our Committee called a conference of representative American Friends, which through a small committee, drafted a document containing a definite proposal which we presented in person to Secretary Baker. The document was as follows:

To Sec. Newton D. Baker,

Dear Friend:

We, the undersigned, are authorized by a conference of

Friends, representing all sections of our religious Society in America, to submit this memorandum concerning the status of Friends under the provision of the Draft Act, which reads as follows:

"And nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to require or compel any person to serve in any of the forces herein provided for, who is found to be a member of any well recognized religious sect or organization at present organized and existing and whose existing creed or principles forbid its members to participate in war in any form, and whose religious convictions are against war or participation therein, in accordance with the creed or principles of said religious organization, but no person so exempted shall be exempted from service in any capacity that the President shall declare to be non-combatant."

The following official ruling of Provost Marshal Gen. Crowder was issued August 11th on "the drafting of religious sects."

"Persons considered under paragraph 'I' of section 20 of the Regulations will be drafted, will be forwarded to a mobilization camp, will make part of the quota from the state and district from whence they come, and will be assigned to duty in a capacity declared by the President to be non-combatant."

The rules and regulations prescribed by the President for Local and District Boards, issued June 30th provides in Section 48 that,

"From the time so specified (i.e., date of reporting at cantonments) each man to whom such notice shall have been mailed shall be in military service of the United States."

The effect of these two rulings in compelling Friends, who have been "called," to become a part of "the military service of the United States" has created a very grave situation for the members of our body.

Our objection to war is fundamentally religious. We are opposed not only to the taking of human life but we are further prevented by our religious principles *from participation in any military system or military service.* It is the evident purpose of the above quoted provision of the law to recognize the religious principles of bodies such as ours and to allow their members to render service consistent with their profound convictions. We merely ask for an interpretation of the law which will give to our people the rights and privileges which are plainly implied in the words and spirit of the enactment. Our members of all ages are loyally ready to render a service in this world crisis commensurate with the tremendous needs of the time—only we cannot be recreant to the sacred ideals of our religious Society.

We therefore present a plan adequately supported by precedent which offers a solution of our mutual problem. There has been formed a national committee, known as the American Friends Service Committee, representing all Friends in the United States, for the purpose of finding fields of service for the members of our body. We respectfully propose that this Committee be authorized by you to find service of national importance for all Friends who have obtained certificates of discharge under the Rules and Regulations prescribed by the President. This Committee pledges itself to find forms of service, to be approved by the President, for all such men. A course similar to the one here proposed has been taken by the British Government in the present war. By an arrangement with the War Department all Friends are given the privilege of accepting service under the Friends' Ambulance Committee or under the Friends' War Victims Relief Committee and thereby of being excused from military service. Our Government through President Lincoln made a somewhat similar arrangement during the Civil War by which Friends were allowed to do hospital and relief work for freedmen under the Friends Committees as an alternative to military service. The American Friends Service Committee has already worked out plans for extensive reconstruction work in France

and in other stricken countries and it is now preparing to send to the Continent of Europe a trained body of men known as the American Friends Reconstruction Unit of the Red Cross No. 1. This reconstruction of the desolated war-zones is work already recognized by the President as a part of our national obligation to Europe and would seem to be suitable service for men who cannot fight.

We can rapidly follow up this first Unit with many similar ones, while for those Friends who are not fitted for this type of work we can find many other fields of service at home or abroad, such as Camp Y. M. C. A. work, social service in the crowded areas where munition workers live, work in the canteens, and in many other forms of constructive activity.

With the most sincere purpose and with the deepest loyalty we urge that this or some other way be taken which shall adequately meet deep-seated conviction and which shall enable us to serve our country and our fellow men without violating our consciences and our sacred faith.

We are respectfully your friends.

The wheels moved very slowly in Washington, particularly in connection with matters which did not vitally assist in winning the war, and we had to learn to wait often many months for *results*, but results, sometimes different from what we expected, did eventually come from our efforts.

As, however, it became "borne in upon us" that we were not likely to get any decision from Washington in time to affect the members of the Haverford Unit who hoped to sail for France by the middle of September, we turned our attention to the immediate practical problem of getting permits from the Local and District Exemption Boards, so that our men could get passports to leave the country for their service. Wherever it was possible to do so, we had the individual members of the Unit transfer their case from

their home Boards, scattered as they were all over the United States, to Boards within easy reach of Philadelphia, so that we and they could deal with their problems in person. All Boards in the country with one exception granted transfers to the men. Provision for such transfer had been made in the "rulings" of the Provost Marshal, which "rulings" we studied as though our life depended on them. In all these legal matters Vincent Nicholson, our Executive Secretary, was very much at home and gave indispensable help. The transfers and the subsequent transactions with the Boards involved the filing of almost innumerable affidavits, all of which I, as chairman of the committee, had to affirm to before a Notary. Each member filed with the Local Board which had the administration of his case an application for permit to leave the United States. The application blank was as follows:

I,....., hereby certify that I am.....years old, that I reside at .....
.....

In accordance with the compiled rulings of the Provost Marshal General, No. 2, dated July 30, 1917, Form 24, Section (d), I hereby respectfully apply through you for a permit from the District Board to leave the United States. I am a duly appointed member of the American Friends Reconstruction Unit of the Red Cross as indicated by the certificate filed herewith, and I desire to leave the United States as soon as possible for reconstruction work in France.

I respectfully ask that you call me for physical examination and receive any claims for exemption or discharge which I may make in accordance with the provisions of above-mentioned ruling governing permits for passports.

Will you kindly forward this application with the letter of your approval and the other papers in my case to the District Board, calling its attention to the statement of the said ruling that "the

District Board.....will make its decision with the greatest possible expedition."

The permit when issued should be sent to the applicant at his above-mentioned address.

Signed.....

The Local Boards generally granted permits for all our men who were so far down in the Draft list that there was no likelihood that they would be included in the first Draft. They also granted permits to men who were rejected on physical grounds which were often technical and which did not incapacitate the person for our type of service. A man with an imperfect eye which made his aim inaccurate for shooting could perfectly well build houses for French refugees. They further granted conscientious members of the Society of Friends exemption from combatant service. (Form 174.) They usually approved the request of our men for permission to engage in the Reconstruction Work. The final decision, however, rested with the District Boards which alone were authorized to pass upon claims of exemption on the ground that the applicant was engaged in other forms of service "of national importance."

There were at first no definite "rulings" which unequivocally settled the question as to what constituted "work of national importance." Very large discretion was given to the District Boards in this matter. We endeavored to convince the District Boards, before whom the cases of our men came for decision, that they should be given exemptions and permits on the ground that they could not in any case serve in a military capacity and that they could render a genuine national service by "expressing," in President Wilson's phrase, "through their work in France the heart of America." The members of the Boards generally felt that this was the easiest solution of a difficult and complicated prob-

lem, but they were all overwhelmed with work, so busy that they hardly had time to eat or sleep, and of course much more concerned to fill up their draft quotas than to decide cases like these of ours. The consequence was that the decisions dragged along through weary weeks at just the moment when we wanted to book our sailings for France and get the first Unit at its task. Only those of us who worked at this job will ever be in a position to know how seemingly insoluble the whole thing was.

When the time came for the Unit to sail we had received favorable decision on all but eleven cases. These eleven men had to see their companions go without them, though I always expected, as I told the men then, to see them follow after a short interval of patient waiting and discipline. We found temporary homes and work for them on the Westtown farm and kept busily working on for their permits, which at last all came through on a memorable day. Only one of them still had "lions" in his path. This was Von Darwin Amick from Kansas. The "Von" in his name presented what seemed an insuperable obstacle to a passport. The good man was not a German and we had plenty of evidence that when his Kansas parents named him the "Von" was spelled Vaughn, but the boy had formed the habit of spelling it "Von" and now it lay between him and friendly service in France. The case involved a vast correspondence, many affidavits and some journeys to Washington. At length through a personal visit to the French Embassy we secured a permit for our Kansas Friend who was encouraged by the officials in Washington and by us to write his name henceforth V. D. Amick!

Thus every man of the Haverford hundred got passports except the one man whose Local Board in Indiana refused to the last either to transfer him or to grant him a permit.

This was A. N. Reynolds, of Mooresville.[1] We fortunately had no intimation at this time that far greater problems than any we were then encountering were soon to arise in connection with drafted Friends in all parts of the country, but that is a later story and must wait until its turn comes in a future chapter.

[1] Jesse N. Griffith of Richmond, Ind., was prevented from going to France by illness in his family at home, though he had a passport.

CHAPTER VI

GETTING UNDER WAY

FEELING that we should need a large equipment of tools I made out a list of fundamentals and took it to H. P. Davison on July 23rd to see whether the American Red Cross would give us our initial set of supplies. Mr. Davison read the list, asked me a few incisive questions with his usual directness, then rang for a stenographer and dictated the following cable to Grayson Murphy which was my first experience of expansive cabling, regardless of the number of words:

"Chairman Jones of Haverford, Pa., reports excellent progress of unit. Expecting one hundred men will be in prime condition to sail about September first to undertake rehabilitation work along lines of work now being done by English Friends. He suggests they should have in France upon their arrival the following:

Number	Implements
2	Tractors
2	Tractor Plows
2	Syracuse No. 278 horse plows
1 or 2	(60 tooth) spike harrows
2	Tractor harrows (International)
1	Land roller
2	Disc drills, Ontario or Superior
2	Reaper and binder, McCormick
	Case thresher
	Hoes, rakes, axes, shovels, forks for each man

Spring tooth harrow (17 Tooth)
Plowshares and other repairs
3 Complete kits of carpenter tools, hammer, saw, hatchet for each man
1 Auto truck car
1 Large car for transporting men
1 Small car for errand service

"Furthermore, at least one hundred portable houses to be made in this country to cost between four hundred and six hundred dollars. He informs us that he is working along lines suggested by Scattergood and Leeds. It is contemplated that unit can do effective work in getting out lumber from Jura regions thus enabling them to construct many temporary houses next spring. Please advise promptly whether program meets your approval. If so undoubtedly we will proceed to adopt Friends' suggestion."

We soon found that it was much better to build the portable houses in France than to buy them here and transport them, and we substituted the purchase of saw mill and planing mill machinery for the ready made houses. Major Murphy by cable of July 27th, heartily approved our equipment as specified and we were authorized to go ahead with the purchases, though eventually many changes were made in the details. The smaller implements were bought in Philadelphia and sent to Haverford to be packed, to which we added a surveyor's and a photographer's outfit and a large supply of medical and surgical material. The last days at Haverford were occupied in making great packing boxes with rope handles and in packing the entire outfit for the Unit. Each man was allowed to carry 300 pounds, if it did not occupy more than 20 cubic feet. Three months' food supply for the entire unit was bought in Philadelphia, and was expected to be shipped simultaneously with the sailing of the men. Just at this time came a great slump

in the efficiency of railroad transportation. It became almost impossible to get anything to New York or across New York after it reached the city. We resorted to motor trucks for our most urgent material and the night before the Unit sailed, these unique boxes of supplies and vast stacks of duffel bags went off at ten o'clock at night in the general direction of New York with volunteer workers on top of the loads to guard them and steer them.

The next morning (September 4th) almost before light the men set out for Haverford station. There were still duffel bags enough left to fill a railroad car. We shifted them from one train to the other through the windows of the cars in the Philadelphia station and then, with deep emotions on both sides, the Unit set forth for New York leaving the rest of us behind. There were many left-over tasks to be finished after the men were actually gone. Some of the boxes which had been sent to New York by express missed the boat, *The Rochambeau,* went astray and had to be searched for in the wilderness of concentrated freight and express that characterized the New York of those days. The food supplies were subjected to one delay after another. We were inexperienced in the art of shipping and we tried to do the impossible. The one consolation we had was to see how confused and chaotic were the shipping plans and methods of all the other agencies of relief, even the greatest ones, and in the light of our early trials and blunders we slowly worked out a good reliable system. Arthur H. Thomas, of Haverford, out of his large experience, gave us much help in our search for lost things and in our efforts to get our food and mill machinery on the steamers, and he also gave important assistance in the formulation of new and better methods. We selected Arthur C. Jackson, of the Miller Lock Co. to be purchasing agent for all our future

supplies and to oversee the shipping, to whose efficient labors the Service Committee owes a large debt of gratitude. About this time Samuel J. Bunting, Jr., became assistant to our Executive Secretary and gave a great variety of service both in the office and by a multitude of journeys to New York, sometimes in order to forward shipping, sometimes to escort parties of workers bound for France. At the same time Rebecca Carter of Germantown was appointed secretary of Women's work both at home and abroad. This extensive work of the women and the part taken by the secretary for this branch of service will be dealt with in a future chapter. While we were working out our plans at home and getting ready to dispatch the first Unit, J. Henry Scattergood was very busy completing the plans in France for the effective utilization of the workers when they should arrive. In conjunction with the English Friends he had studied the house building work at Dôle in the Jura and had decided to establish another center, like the one at Dôle, for manufacturing *"démontable"* houses. After a careful investigation of possible localities for the new "plant," a contract was made with a manufacturer in the interesting and charming village of Ornans, in the department of Doubs, for the use of his factory, situated on the banks of the Loue River. A building which had been formerly used for the manufacture of absinthe was taken over to be used as living headquarters for the men. The machinery for the planing mill and some of the saw mill machinery were bought in America and were among the congested freight supplies in New York, over which we exercised so much agony. An empty factory with no adequate machinery to work with in a remote French village, did not appeal to anybody and all who were concerned worked almost frantically to push forward the shipping of this needed material.

According to the original plan we expected the Haverford Unit to go directly to Ornans for their first stage of work. Dr. Babbitt was to be their Director and Ralston Thomas was to be his assistant, and we had assumed in a general way that these men would keep together and work as a unit. While they were at sea, on their way to France, all the plans on the other side were recast, by the unexpected opening for work in the Somme section, i. e. in the devastated area released by the famous Hindenburg retreat of 1917. This new plan meant the division of the Unit into many small groups, each group of Americans to be merged with a corresponding group of English workers, thus forming a small *équipe* for each devastated village. Some of the workers were detailed to go to Dôle; some to equip and prepare the mill at Ornans; some to work in the Marne valley and some to go, as indicated above, into the Somme. It was arranged for Dr. Babbitt to create and manage an extensive hospital for civilian patients in the Marne Valley at Sermaize. This sudden transformation of all our plans is only one illustration of the immense difficulty which we had of ever telling in advance what our future activities were to be. Many times during the two years all arrangements, carefully made, for an existing situation had to be instantly thrown aside and a new start made to fit an unexpected emergency.

It was never possible to get a great number of berths on any one French steamer. The largest group we ever sent at one time was the famous *Rochambeau* group with Dr. Babbitt, which consisted of fifty-one men and three women.

Weary and travel-worn after a sleepless night on deck, passing through the submarine zone, and another sleepless night in third class railroad carriages *en route* from Bordeaux, fifty-four members of the American Friends Recon-

struction Unit No. 1, tumbled out of the train Saturday morning, September 14th, and greeted Paris. Henry Scattergood, and half-a-dozen of the English Friends, as well as part of a group of thirteen who had arrived a week earlier, were at the Quai d'Orsay station to meet them. The fifty-one men and three women scattered to their hotels, to regather in the evening at the splendid new Red Cross Headquarters in the old Auto Club in the Place de la Concorde.

Some of them slept during the day; all were hollow-eyed and tired when they met at the Red Cross Headquarters. They came away refreshed and inspired. Henry Scattergood, the American Friends' Commissioner; T. Edmund Harvey, President of the English work in France; and Homer Folks, Director of the Division of Civil Affairs of the Red Cross, spoke so eloquently of the work before them that the travellers who came with minds filled with the difficulties in France, returned fired with the consecrated spirit of these men. It is impossible to reflect the religious spirit of that meeting in words, or to report the joy with which the ship-worn group felt the spirit of the men with whom they were to work. Behind the words here reported stood three great, warm, human men.

"I am glad to welcome you here in this happy combination of the American Red Cross, the English Friends and our American Friends Reconstruction Unit," said Henry Scattergood, in opening the meeting. "We rejoice in this international effort in which representatives of England and America join to help their sister nation, France. We owe our privilege of being here at all to our rich inheritance from our ancestors in England and America who have fought for freedom of conscience the world over. . . . We are here because we feel we must do something, not expecting an easier life than the millions of men who are following

their light in other ways, and we are ready to do the hardest and lowliest kind of work. It is not that our blood is any less red or our patriotism any less real, it is that we are conscious that we are servants of a King who is above all nations—the King of Love, and that we must live out His Gospel of Love. It is not for us to talk, it is for us to work, and in our work to show the power of good-will even in these terrible times. We are guests of France, a nation which in its hour of trial has made itself admired and loved throughout the world. We must come prepared, not to criticise, not to modernize, not to change, but to help France as she wants us to help her, humbly and as best we can. We Friends have a special responsibility because of our views, and must be careful strictly to follow all the conditions under which the work has been permitted by the authorities. The whole Friends' expedition might be imperilled by the wilful or careless act of any individual which might lead to distrust by the officials, and every member is placed upon his sense of honor for the highest standards of conduct. I can hope for nothing better than that we should rise to the level of service of the English Friends with whom we are now merged, who have undertaken the work in a deep religious spirit. Our privilege is to unite the experience and standing of the English Friends with the enthusiasm and personnel of the American Friends and the influence and backing of the Red Cross. Wonderful possibilities open before us, the limits to which are set simply by what we ourselves make of them."

T. Edmund Harvey was introduced by Henry Scattergood as "a man whose knowledge of French life, language and manners made possible that confidence on the part of French officials upon which the whole work has been built up; whose ideals and whose life of love have come from liv-

ing very close to his Master; whose strength is in gentleness, whose character has molded the spirit of all the workers; whose presence is an inspiration, and who is beloved by all who know him."

"We have been looking forward to this influx of new life," said T. E. Harvey, "and to the Red Cross making it possible for you to work along with us, with their guidance and help. The splendid motto of the Red Cross, 'Inter-Arma Caritas,' stands for the constructive element, building up, conserving, re-creating, in the midst of war. It is a great thing to try to live up to that motto every day. By the very nature of the trust imposed upon us, we cannot speak as we might in times of peace of some aspects of our faith, but we can in our work demonstrate some aspects of humanity and brotherhood, lessen a little the terrible bitterness of war, and bring something of the spirit of comradeship and love into lives bruised and battered by the wrong that has been done. We have tried to make the ideals of service real in our work. We are all comrades and brothers working together, very democratically organized, ready—even men used to positions of responsibility—to accept in the spirit of comradeship humble duties elsewhere called menial and lowly, but which have, rightly seen, a divine meaning. You will carry with you the honor of the Quaker name and of the American Red Cross, and you will go as representatives of America into districts where no American has ever been seen. You will go as representatives of a vision, of a way of life. I am sure that you will every one be worthy of the call that comes to you from the need of France and the need of humanity."

It was a rare tribute which Homer Folks, the Red Cross official in charge of all American civilian relief work in

France, paid to the English Friends. "The Red Cross looks on the Society of Friends as in a sense its expert leaders," he declared. "There is no group of people from whom we have learned so much, or from whom we expect to learn so much, as the Friends." Then he added a piece of advice. "Leave behind on the boat," he said, "all particular recognition of what you represented at home, and go about it simply as work to be done. You derive your impulse to this work from your very beautiful faith. The first thing to learn is to be tremendously tolerant and remember that the people you will help have a very different religion and draw from it certain very different conclusions. You will find, too, some to whom politics and religion are the same thing, but who are animated by as deep and genuine an interest in human welfare. This is the most tremendously fascinating, stimulating, developing, opportunity human beings were ever called on to meet, and it can be met only in a simple-minded human way without any tags or hyphens."

For the members of the Unit Dr. Babbitt replied, "We come absolutely ready to do any service of any kind which may be assigned to us."

After an intermission for coffee and cakes—the members of the Unit were astounded by the abundance of good food in France—Margery Fry, of the Social Service Department, Edward G. West, of the Agricultural Department, and Wilfrid Shewell, Secretary of the English Friends' work in France, explained a series of stereopticon pictures of the work in the Marne district.

Besides giving the incoming band of workers this royal welcome which touched everybody's heart, the tried and true English workers gave them the following written message of good-will:

"We, the English members of the Friends War Victims Relief Expedition in France, send a word of warm welcome to the American Friends who have come to share our work with us. It is with the greatest pleasure that we greet those, who, separated from us by such great distance, share with us the same ideals and aspirations. We rejoice in this opportunity for a united Quaker effort in the service of humanity. We invite you gladly to join us in our efforts and hopes, successes and failures.

"It may be that some of you will be discouraged at finding yourselves located, for a time at any rate, in a district which shows no signs of the great struggle, and that you will long to be placed in more direct contact with those whose sufferings are more evident. It may be your lot to do work which is in itself monotonous and uninteresting, as indeed has been the case with many of us who have preceded you. We hope that you may see, as we have seen, that it matters little what our particular work may be, so long as we help forward the cause of international good fellowship, and the ideal of constructive service which we all have at heart. The dullness of the work is part of the sacrifice which is entailed in the service we wish to render and in the witness we would make to our faith.

"In the districts devastated by the war you may be disheartened by the immense mass of suffering and the smallness of the help it is possible to give. There is nothing we have felt more acutely ourselves during our three years out here. But along with this feeling of helplessness we have learnt something of the opposite. At a time when people are thinking in continents, in millions of lives and hundreds of millions of money, we have lived in small villages among humble people, doing unsensational though interesting work; we have come to see that personal sympathy and genuine understanding are all the more welcome at a time when individual personality is generally unconsidered.

"We hope and believe that you will share with us the love we feel for the peasants of France. Their civilization and their view of life is very different from ours, still more different perhaps from yours. It is a civilization which has great respect

for symbols, which is full of small reverences and what may appear almost foolish sensibilities. But these reverences and sensibilities, when understood, are the keys that open to us the innate gladness and good fellowship of the French people. They are at present struck down by misery almost past bearing. There is hardly a family that has not lost two, three or even more of their nearest in the war. But still from under this suffering springs up at times their old inherent gaiety, to enjoy which is one of the pleasures of our work which we wish you to share with us.

"During the last three years we believe that those we have been trying to help have come to appreciate the spirit in which our work is given. Certainly *'Les Amis'* are known in districts far beyond the limits of their activities. We can assure you a welcome, not only from ourselves, but from the people among whom you will live, and we believe that the work before you will be not only useful, but an experience which ever afterwards you will be glad to have known.

"Signed on behalf of the workers in France,

"T. Edmund Harvey,
"Wilfrid Shewell,
"Francis L. Birrell."

Everybody fell in heartily with the new plan. Dr. Babbitt showed the finest possible spirit. It was obviously not possible for him under the new arrangement to be American Director of the Unit. He was confronted with a medical task which called for all his boundless energies and at the same time the Unit itself was broken up into many fragments and merged into complete union with the English workers, under the immediate direction of the Paris Executive Committee and its officers. Under the plan of triangular coöperation the following working system was adopted with officers as indicated below.

Chairman in France—T. Edmund Harvey.
Secretary in France—Wilfrid Shewell.
Treasurer in France—Ralph Elliott.
Address: 53 Rue de Rivoli, Paris.
Chairman in England—William Albright.
Secretary in England—A. Ruth Fry.
Address: Ethelburga House, Bishopsgate, London.
Chairman in U. S. A.—Rufus M. Jones.
Secretary in U. S. A.—Vincent D. Nicholson.
Address: 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Representative in France of American Friends Service Com.—J. Henry Scattergood.
Representatives of Red Cross on Executive Committee—Homer Folks, Director of Dept. of Civil Affairs; J. Henry Scattergood, Chief of Bureau of Friends Unit.
Friends Representative on Red Cross Commission:
J. Henry Scattergood, Chief Bureau of Friends Unit.
Heads of Departments:
Medical—Dr. Hilda Clark, Maternity Hospital, Châlons-sur-Marne, c/o American Red Cross.
Relief—S. Margery Fry, "La Source," Sermaize, Marne.
Agriculture—E. G. West, "La Source," Sermaize, Marne.
Building—Harold E. Trew, 20 Ave. Victoria, Paris.
Manufacture of Houses—Norman H. Brooks, Dôle, Jura.

J. Henry Scattergood who had gone to France as a temporary commissioner felt compelled to return home and in the latter part of the summer we realized very keenly that we must have a highly qualified man to take the positions temporarily filled by him. We knew at once whom we wanted to have to fill this important executive field-position, but we could not at that time get this particular Friend for our service as he felt that he could not honorably drop the responsible work which he was then doing. His turn was

however to come later, as we shall see. Other men occurred to us who were well qualified and we spent much earnest thought before we made the selection of the man for this task. Our choice fell upon Charles Evans, of Riverton, New Jersey. We greatly feared he could not leave his own business affairs at such a critical time and we knew how hard it would be for any man to leave behind for a year or more a wife and family of three children. On one of our visits to Washington we decided that the time had come to ask Charles Evans to go. We sent him a telegram from Washington asking him to come down to Wilmington, Delaware, to meet us on our returning train in the evening. He came as requested. We laid our weighty concern upon him as the train covered the distance between the two cities and when we got off in Philadelphia he had consented to go to France if he could make the necessary arrangements at home and in his business, which he believed he could do, and which he quickly did. It was one of those divinely guided steps, which have so often marked Quaker undertakings in the past. Charles Evans was the right man for the work we had in hand and he gave himself to it without any reservations. He sailed for France with a group of workers September 16th, twelve days after the main body of workers had left on *The Rochambeau.*

After visiting the *équipes* and living for some time with the groups of workers in the winter of 1918-1919, I wrote the following impression of the success of the experiment of joining forces together.

"At first the amalgamation was not easy: both groups were Anglo-Saxon and they were both in the main composed of Friends, but at the same time both groups had marked traits of difference. Habits of thought, forms and accents of speech, typical difference in native humor, characteristic

preferences for kinds of food, and many other contrasts, separated the men, in spite of the fact that they were merged together on paper and by their common aim. The English workers were older, maturer, and settled in their more or less fixed ways of work and life. Our men were often hardly more than boys. They were full of zest and enthusiasm. They were ready for any amount of work, but they were *American,* first, last and all the time. Their national characteristics could not be mistaken. They were used to their own Western ways, fresh, breezy, unconventional, and they could not change much more easily than the leopard could change his spots, or the Ethiopian his skin. Speaking frankly, there were many frictions, and there were the usual difficulties which attend international marriages! There are letters in the archives of the Philadelphia Committee which relate how some Americans viewed some English co-laborers, and there are letters in the London archives which express moods and attitudes toward the curious American cousins.

"Time has gone by, the workers have lived together, toiled together, suffered together, laughed and wept together and they have become a united group. Each has learned from the other. There has grown up a fine spirit of give and take. I heard many English Friends say unreservedly that the union of forces had been a great satisfaction and blessing to them, and I heard many expressions from our American workers of the rich and positive fruits that had come to them through the intercourse, the co-operation and the fellowship. The religious meetings together have formed one valuable feature of the association, and the frequent discussion of life aims and national ideals has been another large asset.

"At first the work of direction and management was

largely in the hands of English workers, especially the executive positions, the headship of departments and the leadership in the local *équipes*. This was, of course, wholly as it should have been. As our workers gained in skill and insight and revealed their gifts and qualities, they gradually won important positions of headship and direction, and they have in the later period had their full share in the management of the Mission. It is in every way a joint work and a 'conjunct' undertaking. The experiment has 'worked' as we say in America, it has 'answered' as the English phrase it. The comradeship, the fellowship in work and life will be among the happy memories which the groups from both countries will take home with them when the Mission closes this union in France, and will have done much to cement for the future English and American Quakerism."

More important, however, than a visitor's impression is the settled judgment of the workers themselves. The following testimony of E. Roy Calvert, writing from Varennes in the autumn of 1919, is a good specimen of the type of view we have been getting from workers both English and American:

"The work, which is now drawing to a close, has been a large one, and our personnel has been extensive. We have seen the gathering together of men and women entirely different in ways of life, ideas, and national characteristics. We have worked together in little groups, shared in the same primitive conditions, and come into very intimate contact. We have pooled our thoughts and ideals, and have met in the fellowship of the same Meeting for Worship.

"At first our differences seemed acute, and no doubt some of us have separated and gone off to our homes without ever rising above them. Gradually, however, almost unconsciously, there has

come to most of us the experience of a fellowship which, transcending our surface differences, has bound us together in the bonds of a spiritual unity. Our differences have not disappeared, nor become absorbed in the mass, but in the warmth of a common fellowship our individual characteristics have been uplifted and purified, and fitted into the scheme of the whole.

"This coöperation between Friends in England and America has been more than a material one. To some of us at least it has entered into the very sanctuary of the spiritual.

"And now one by one we are separating, to England and across the seas; but this fellowship between us must not die. Other fields of service are opening up in Poland, Serbia and elsewhere, and we must share that work together. But the question is larger than this. I write as an Englishman who feels the strength of the forces which are seeking to alienate our two countries. Does not the call come to all those who name the name of Friend to witness to the spiritual oneness of all peoples? We have shared in this great work together, and have a great love one for the other. God grant that in whatever new endeavors he may call us, we may still be united in that tie which is strongest of all ties, the warm tie of such a fellowship as we have known here in France."

One other interesting item belongs in this chapter, devoted to getting under way. This was the generous appropriation of 533,000 francs made to our relief work by the American Red Cross in France. This was to cover a specified budget which included many lines of activity, such as the Châlons maternity hospital, the construction of houses, the cost of furniture for the houses, the purchase of farm machinery and more motor cars. Out of this fund came also the sums required to prepare and equip the new hospital which Dr. Babbitt and his band of helpers created in the Château at Sermaize. When Henry Scattergood left

the field of his labors in October to come home, the work was well launched, and the success of it seemed assured.

I have necessarily had much to say of the leaders and organizers of this enterprise. It should, however, be said emphatically that the spirit of the rank and file of the workers themselves was the greatest and most signal feature of the Unit. *They* made the success of the undertaking. They gave themselves to it with *abandon* and worked with real consecration for the ends we all had in view. Much of the work they did was monotonous and dull, far removed from the theater of the war, and from the regions where the relief was to be finally applied. Through the rain and mud and cold the group worked on, for no returns, for no reward, solely to make their contribution to those who were suffering. They are the ones who deserve whatever glory attaches to the success of the completed service.

CHAPTER VII

GETTING THE ENTIRE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS BEHIND THE WORK

For almost a hundred years Friends in America have been a divided people, unable to give a united support to any cause. Even the work for the abolition of the slaves and for the care of the freedmen failed to bring Friends together for a common task, but the immense tragedies of the world war made it impossible for serious men and women to busy themselves any longer with insignificant and trivial issues. The call for relief, and the opportunity to serve which was now opened to Friends made a profound appeal to all the members everywhere. Divisions were disregarded and separations overlooked. Genuine sympathy for suffering and the human appeal which touched the heart made all Friends feel kin to one another and in fellowship with those who needed help. Nothing was said about uniting. No labored efforts were made to heal breaches. Friends spontaneously *acted* together without stopping to think out a plan or scheme of unity. They simply found themselves working together in a great cause.

The work became consequently a corporate undertaking and not the affair simply of a committee. Every meeting throughout the country had its part in it, and it became quite natural to say "our work." Sewing, knitting and food canning occupied almost every Quaker community. Each Meeting had its local Service Committee, the secretary of which received detailed instructions from headquar-

ters as to needs and methods, patterns, preferred colors, etc. Often the local treasurer purchased wool and cloth out of the funds subscribed, and distributed them to members for making up. Frequently the local committees held weekly sewing bees, when members could have the joy and inspiration of corporate work and the pleasant sociability of sewing in concert for a common object. At these gatherings letters and news from workers on the field were read, and the workers at home so kept closely in touch with the conditions at the front.

Through these local organizations also the regular canvass of every member of the Society of Friends for contributions to the work was carried on. Regular subscribers were awarded a button to wear with the eight-pointed star, the emblem of all the workers abroad and at home. Meetings which desired it were also given a Friends Service Flag, bearing the same red and black star, to hang in front of or inside their Meeting house.

The story of the condition of the refugees was simply, quietly, and yet impressively told to the groups of Friends. Everybody who could sew or knit felt a call to produce garments. The sudden return to primitive pioneer activities was most striking. Our grandmothers and great-grandmothers carried knitting everywhere with them and acquired the art of knitting "without observation," that is, by subconscious movement of muscles, and this achievement was made once more by multitudes of busy wives and mothers and by young girls, sometimes even by dignified men. The result in the creation of garments was most gratifying. Only those who had the privilege of seeing the distribution of these garments, and of sharing in the joy of the recipients of them can ever fully know the far-reaching effects of this local work of relief. Some of the stories from

the field of the reception of the articles made by American women Friends give quaint and touching side-lights on the French peasant character and on the destitution caused by the war. Frances C. Ferris, writing from Charmont says:

"I want to tell you to whom your quilts went. Among the old refugee women here at Charmont are two whose stories are particularly interesting: Madame P——'s home was at Verdun, just outside the ancient Porte Chause that one sees on the little Verdun medals. In the first great German advance, her three daughters-in-law fled panic-stricken with their families, leaving Madame P—— ill in bed. There she continued to live for the next year and a half, quite alone. How she managed it is impossible to imagine, as she is paralyzed all down her right side, and a tremendously heavy woman beside. She cooked her frugal meals and swept her little room with one hand, but for eighteen months she never undressed. The soldiers quartered in the city were very kind-hearted, she said, and used to bring her water, but "they didn't reckon to play lady's maid." Then, at the second Verdun attack, when the Germans were shelling the city from only four miles away, as she cowered in her little cottage, the Curé came to her door in the snow. *"Tiens, ma grandmère, vous restez toujours ici. Mais il faut partir. Le Boche vient demain."* And so that night she was hoisted into a train of wounded and dying soldiers and shipped to Bar-le-Duc. There she stayed at the Hospice until it, too, was bombed by the Boches and evacuated. Her next refuge was a convent in the Haute Marne, where, according to her lurid tale, the Schonberg-Cotta family type of treatment prevailed in its highest form. The poor émigrées evidently were most unkindly treated, and Madame P—— spent quite the wretchedest year of all before

the "Amis" came, as she expresses it, *"me delivrer du joug de ces ogresses."*

The other grandmère's story is short and sad, the "simple annals of the poor." She had one only darling grandson, with whom she lived in their little cottage near Revigny. He cherished and cared for her after her long life of hardship and abuse. She worked their little garden, raised some chickens among which, the pride and joy of the grandmère's heart, was a beautiful cock with a *golden* tail. Then suddenly Revigny became the battlefield of the Marne, the little cottage was burned, the grandson taken prisoner and killed, the grandmère left desolate at seventy-eight. But the greatest pathos of her story is in the description of how the soldiers killed her beau coque with the bright tail-feathers. "Oui, ma fille, they wrung his neck, the *coquins*, before my very eyes, and then they sat and ate him at my own table, my beautiful cock."

"These French peasants cling to their little possessions—the things that no matter how mean and poor, are their very own, in a way that we cannot understand. It sometimes seems as though loss of family and children were as nothing to them compared to the loss of property. It is the substance of things hoped for. That is, their property is the thing they can transmit, the visible bond that links one generation to the next and makes the family the institution that it is in France.

"And so you can imagine what those quilts were to those two old dears. To *own* anything is a joy such as they had not expected ever again to experience. But don't think for one moment that they went on their beds. Nothing so reckless. They are preserved for posterity. Meantime we provide blankets to warm their old bones, but let me assure you that it is you that have warmed their hearts."

An average of about 50 packages and 3,200 garments per week were sent through the central store-room of the Friends Service Committee to France for distribution. As early as July 15th, 1918, a total of 80,748 garments had been sent abroad. All these shipments were made free of charge through the American Red Cross Shipping Service. The congestion of shipping would have made it utterly impossible for us to have got this immense quantity of freight across the ocean if we had not had the assistance of this great relief organization. They gave us unusual advantages and even in the most difficult periods of ocean service our boxes filled with garments continued to go forward on their mission of love. The Friends of Race Street Meeting in Philadelphia gave us one of the large meeting-rooms of their ancient meeting-house as headquarters for storing and repacking the garments. It was always a busy place and presented a thrilling sight. Mary H. Whitson had the immediate oversight of the sorting and packing of garments, and she has done a piece of work which deserves a prominent place in the new "Sartor Resartus," or clothes philosophy, if ever a new Carlyle writes the story of it.

Very extensive work, cutting cloth into garments, was carried on in the Arch Street Meeting House in Philadelphia, in which work Albert L. Baily, Jr., rendered great service. By excellent foresight large quantities of cloth were purchased before the advance of price made cloth a luxury.

In addition to the clothing made by women workers, about thirty thousand dollars' worth of candy, ready-made garments, blankets, condensed milk, and drugs had been up to that date purchased and sent abroad.

The central office of the Five Years' Meeting did a large amount of efficient work toward organizing the subordinate meetings under its care, even before the Five Years' Meet-

ing was held in October 1917. By the action of that meeting, which showed much enthusiasm for the French mission, the work of the Service Committee was heartily endorsed, and each yearly meeting under the Five Years' Meeting was requested to appoint a yearly meeting's service committee to coöperate with the central committee in Philadelphia and to assist in perfecting organizations in all the local meetings of the entire body. Similar action was, at a later time, taken also by the Arch Street and Race Street yearly meetings of Philadelphia.

The Service Committee, in its developed form, consisted of the following members: William C. Biddle, T. Janney Brown, Henry J. Cadbury, Arabella Carter, Rebecca Carter, John R. Cary, William W. Cocks, Henry W. Comfort, William W. Comfort, Charles Evans, Harold Evans, William B. Harvey, L. Clarkson Hinshaw, Allen D. Hole, Jesse H. Holmes, Hannah Clothier Hull, Arthur C. Jackson, J. Edwin Jay, Charles F. Jenkins, Rufus M. Jones, Morris E. Leeds, Lucy Biddle Lewis, John R. Maxwell, Annie A. Mendenhall, Homer L. Morris, Vincent D. Nicholson, Charles J. Rhoads, Lewis L. Rockwell, Albert S. Rogers, J. Henry Scattergood, Alfred G. Scattergood, Alva J. Smith, Edgar H. Stranahan, Edward F. Stratton, Willard E. Swift, Anne G. Walton, J. Barnard Walton, J. Harold Watson, L. Hollingsworth Wood, Walter C. Woodward, Florence P. Yarnall, Stanley R. Yarnall. Throughout almost the whole period we kept a stream of lecturers going into the various Quaker communities, telling the story of the work abroad and keeping the people at home in touch with what was happening. Whenever a commissioner, or worker who could talk well, came home from France he was doomed to a season of travel and to the life of an itinerant lecturer until the advance and progress of the

work made his story out of date. Morris Leeds came first; then Henry Scattergood arrived, who proved himself to be a much enduring traveller and a capital lecturer. The officers of the committee, even before they had been on the field, were frequently called upon to describe the work and to set forth its aims, so that they had to be ready at any moment's notice to go out on talking trips. Isaac Sharpless, President W. W. Comfort of Haverford and Lucy Biddle Lewis also made a large contribution of time and effort toward this important work of propaganda.

As time went on the women's committee which had been appointed by the Service Committee at an early period became an important feature. It was composed of a group of devoted, efficient women, with Lucy Biddle Lewis of Lansdowne, Pennsylvania, as chairman. They met frequently and worked individually in the interim between meetings. They selected and equipped the women workers who were sent to France. They maintained an oversight over the sewing, knitting and cutting work as well as over the packing of the garments for shipping. They were in numerous ways a constant source of contribution to the development of the work.

The periodicals of the Society of Friends—*The Friend, The American Friend,* and *The Friends Intelligencer*—were well nigh indispensable to our work. They gave large space to it every week. They reported plans, announced each new move, issued calls for volunteers, stirred up interest, interpreted our ideals, and kept the membership informed about the entire service. They printed many letters from the workers, published details of the work, and carried into a multitude of homes the story of reconstruction. Any one who turns back to earlier files of these same papers will be interested to see the change of

perspective and to observe how action and service have usurped the place once occupied by problems of theology. The public press of the country, too, has shown a warm interest in the relief work of Friends and has been ready at all times to give it support and commendation. Local papers have printed many letters from the workers who came from the respective communities where the papers circulated, and this publicity has been of distinct value to the work. Most of the popular magazines of the country have contained articles, often profusely illustrated, telling in interesting and attractive narrative the story of the work, and Sunday editions of the great daily newspapers have given much appreciated publicity. Publicity has not been sought for its own sake, it has been welcomed only as a means to a larger end—the real advancement of the service itself. It is a peculiar cause for thanksgiving that not only within the Society of Friends but in the accounts given from outside the membership as well, the one aim of unselfish service has been clearly kept in view.

One of the most remarkable features of the whole undertaking was the splendid financial support which it received from all Friends, from the Mennonites and from many other interested people. As the work grew and expanded the funds for it were always available. It caught the imagination of our people, it won their faith and confidence and they supported it loyally and generously. During the period under review in these chapters more than two million dollars have passed through our hands and have gone into the work of relief, and we expect to spend even more than that amount in feeding the mal-nourished German children, a work now just in its initial stage.

CHAPTER VIII

THE KEEPERS OF THE FAITH

EVER since George Fox told the commissioners of the English Commonwealth that he lived in virtue of that life and power which takes away the occasion for all war, and then, because of his refusal to fight, went into a "dungeon amongst rogues and felons," the Society of Friends has borne its testimony to a way of life so incompatible with the methods of war, that its members who clearly and positively accept the former way have found it impossible to adopt the latter methods. Every time England or America has been engaged in an extensive war the Friends in these countries have found their principles put to a searching test and have had to decide the issue within the inner chamber of their souls. The individual decisions have, of course, not been uniform. Like those knights of Arthur's court who went to seek the Holy Grail, Friends have "seen what they have seen," some holding unswervingly to the ideal vision and some adopting the methods of the hour. But throughout the years the corporate body, in its official utterances and messages has consistently taken the ground that Christianity, as Friends hold and interpret it, is a type of religion utterly incompatible with war. Every Friend consequently realized, as the date of mobilization of the drafted men drew on, that a great testing of the faith was at hand. How would the drafted Friends meet the issue when their day came?

The Society of Friends has always had such an exalted estimate of the sacredness of individual conscience, and such faith in the autonomy of the soul, that it refrains from any policy of issuing directions to its members on questions of moral decision. It furnishes as a body what light it can give on great spiritual principles, but it leaves the tiller in the hands of each individual Friend to steer his own course in moral issues and to settle his own destiny. The Service Committee wrote a letter to young Friends which contained the following passages:

"We can only advise you to decide your own course before the high tribunal of your own conscience. This is the tribunal which the Government has recognized in its Law and in the affidavit forms of its Regulations, and obedience to the mandates of conscience is thus within the law as enacted and interpreted. You are peculiarly the standard bearers of the Society of Friends in this time of its greatest crisis during our generation. We hope that you are so deeply grounded in Christian principles as held by the Society of Friends that your conscience will lead you to act consistently with these principles. Just in proportion as this shall be the case, will those principles command respect and gain influence. Only as our young men follow the historic ideals of Friends, will our long-standing testimony be more than a meaningless mass of words. Only in this way will we secure consideration for our convictions. The War Department will also certainly judge of our principles by the action of the majority of our members. It is thus of supreme importance that those of our members who have made affidavits for discharge on the ground of being prevented by conscience from 'participation in war in any form' seek very clear guidance in acting consistently with their affidavits."

The Service Committee at the same time endeavored to secure the privilege from the War Department for members

of the Society of Friends to go to the mobilization camps at their own expense and in their own way without joining the mobilizing squads which were going as a body on the trains. This request was not granted. As chairman of the committee, I received from Dr. F. P. Keppel, at this period private secretary to the Secretary of War, a letter dealing with this point, an extract from which is of interest. It was as follows:

"WAR DEPARTMENT

"WASHINGTON

September 10, 1917.

"Dear Professor Jones:

"Referring to your telegram of the first, I have just received from the Provost Marshal General word to the effect that the procedure that requires persons holding certificates of exemption from noncombatant service to report to mobilization camps is one that has been adopted for the convenience of the Government. To depart from this procedure would cause great confusion and would accomplish no useful purpose. The Selective Service Law exempts adherents to certain creeds from combatant service, but it does not exempt them from military service. On the contrary, the bill provides for a selective draft to maintain the organizations of the Regular Army, to complete and maintain the organizations of the National Guard, and to organize and maintain the National Army. It is a bill to increase temporarily the military establishment of the United States and, after providing for the draft of persons adhering to these creeds, it specifically requires that no person exempted on account of their religious belief shall be exempt from service in any capacity that the President shall declare to be noncombatant. This provision of the law will be scrupulously executed. The President has so far declared service in the Medical Department of the Army to be noncombatant. He has not, up to this date, declared service in the American Friends Reconstruction

Unit to be such military, noncombatant service as to justify the assignment sought."

Dr. Keppel went on to quote the hope expressed to him by Provost Marshal General Crowder that Friends would not insist on their objection to travelling on trains with other selected men as the point of objection seemed to him "a very little one," and urging that Friends "withdraw their objection and place themselves in an attitude of coöperation with the efforts of those charged with the execution of the law." The ruling was, however, made to us that the act of going to camp should not be considered as an act of obedience to a military order, since this latter stage would begin only after the men were duly registered in camp. With this understanding most young Friends who were in the first draft went to the mobilization camps on the day appointed—September 18th, 1917. A very few declined to go and remained at their homes until they were visited at a later time by officers and taken to the camp, where they were treated in practically the same way as were those who had gone voluntarily.

The position of a man who goes against the current of popular opinion is always difficult and beset with pitfalls, not only outward and objective but also inward and subjective. First he must be clear-headed to see exactly where and how he differs from his fellows, and to lay his finger on the perceived fallacy in their position which causes him to maintain his own. And secondly he must be sweet-spirited to bear in mind, under all provocation, how extremely trying his apparent pig-headed self-assurance must be to all his disagreeing brethren, secure as they are in the backing of age, public opinion and tradition.

Never can the trial be more severe, both of the dissenting

individual and of the majority convinced of righteousness, than when the dissenter is one who persists in maintaining his previous innocuous peace ideas in time of war, and under the august operation of a military service act. It only adds to the public irritation that a few months previously many of them were inclined to adopt his ideas as becoming and progressive in an enlightened age. How dare this upstart be more consistent than themselves? How dare he weigh so lightly the arguments that have been good enough for them? It is of all things essential that the bold dissenter be almost superhumanly consistent, tolerant, gentle, courteous, humorous, wise, equal to all occasions and surprises, or with joy and relief otherwise his successful persecutors will dub him hypocrite, and all his effort will have gone for nought.

Quite naturally when the draft law began calling young Friends into camp, their lines of action were various, and sometimes uncertain. To many of the boys from the farms, unaccustomed to hard thinking or to expressing their thoughts, their conscientious objection to war was more a deep-rooted instinct than a reasoned faith or opinion. They were sure nothing, not even the fear of death, should make them fight; but beyond that they were sometimes hazy and uncertain. And many with better opportunities and less excuse than they, were hazy and uncertain too in the bewilderment of the time. Where to draw the line, was the standard question. "How far can one go without compromising conscience?" Some boys refused to drill, others consented to drill but refused to carry arms; but the really fundamental differences which divided "the conscientious objectors" into well-defined classes were that some were satisfied if they themselves were personally free from the responsibility of killing, while others were objectors

to the whole system of war, and were not content to be even the hindmost parts of the military machine. This last class did not ask "How far can we go without compromising our conscience?" Their conscience was not merely a mystically-conceived inward voice capable of such quibbles as to allow them to be part of an army but not to do any of the major deeds which an army is for. Their conscience was closely linked with common sense and reason, and with certain definite ideas as to what kind of action makes for progress and perfection of life and what does not. Their religion was not against and in spite of common sense, but its strongest support. They desired a world of peace and righteousness, and their logical conclusion was that they therefore had to live peace and righteousness.

To them the thing inadequately and unfortunately called "a peace testimony" was not something that merely came into being in time of war, but involved a way of life governed, regardless of times and seasons, by the principles of Christ. And when a war in which their country was a participator presented a barrier to this ideal, their position was not one of passive protest, but of the active presentation of a better way.

The stories of the dealings with Friends of this class and others like-minded, in the military training camps in America, can be read in detail in the correspondence of the Friends Service Committee and elsewhere. The incidents related here are told in no spirit of criticism of any individuals, but merely to make plain the situation when an unyielding and rigid organization like the military enters the field to grind such men into the common pattern. These incidents also make evident that these men, unusual as they were in their action, were not after all far from the pattern of their fellows in the deepest convictions

of all. Some have tried to prove that the conscientious objector was abnormal. It would appear rather that he was a normal person who had the courage of his convictions. The instinctive dislike of the normal civilized man to the idea of killing another man, is common knowledge; it took all the psychology of military training with its power to deaden thought, and even, on the actual field of battle, more extreme measures, to bring the ordinary man to the requisite pitch of semi-delirious savagery to make a good soldier.

The Friend merely declined to begin to put his highest nature under the control of this system. War ought not to happen. If individual men refused to take part in it, it could not happen. He therefore stopped right there.

That he was capable of courage, of self-sacrifice, of endurance of hardship, he proved both in going through the mill in the camps, and subsequently in the reconstruction work in France to which a wise government finally allowed him to devote his energy.

The case of S. W. S., Camp Cody, is one that affords a survey of a good many points of difficulty, some at least of which were present in every case of what came to be called the absolute C.O.—that is, the one to whom the matter was broader than just his own personal cleanness of hand from the actual killing, and who declined to become in any way a part of the military machine. The following letter from the boy's mother is interesting:

"Within a few days after arriving, after examinations, etc., they were taken for uniforms, which he did not feel he should put on, and *did* not. The clothing, which was the blue jumpers they use for first uniform, was put on him in a harsh manner, and afterward he was subjected to cruel and inhuman treatment. After refusing to accept any of the so-called noncombatant or

any substitute work he was put under guard, and kept in stockade about three weeks, his suitcase, money, and even some small necessities being kept from him. After the court-martial, in which he was acquitted, he was taken back into camp, having endured much cruelty at one time while in the stockade. Efforts were made to have him accept soldier work, and he was again taken for the khaki uniform which he could not accept and would not put on himself. The corporal (as I understand, under the Lieutenant's orders) beating him cruelly and gouging thumbs in his eyes, while blood from his nose ran down upon his clothing, he occasionally being knocked down during the process. Failing in getting him to do it, the corporal put the clothes on him."

For a time after the gouging it seemed likely that the sight of S. W. S.'s eyes would be permanently injured, but after a few weeks they largely recovered, and the sight began to return to normal.

"They tell me," writes S. W. S. to a friend at this time, "that I could make trouble for the noncommissioned officers if I would report them, but I did not want to do that at all unless it seemed necessary.

"A lieutenant told me Second Day [Monday] that I would sure go to Leavenworth for twenty-five years if I did not change.

"I have been stripped and scrubbed with a broom, put under a faucet with my mouth held open, had a rope around my neck and pulled up choking tight for a bit, been fisted, slapped, kicked, carried a bag of sand and dirt until I could hardly hold it and go, have been kept under a shower-bath until pretty chilled." . . . "If this information will do no good for others thou may just burn this letter and let it go."

In another letter this temperate-spirited youth writes:

"I would like to mention two or three things which I think might have helped me if I had known to start with. Soon after reaching camp I sent my non-combatant certificate to the division

commander (having been told by the sergeant that he could not see him) also part of the ruling in regard to C. O.'s. Later on I wrote him a letter stating my case, what I was willing to do, etc. These I sent by mail but never heard from them. An officer told me to-day that the commander likely never saw them, and that they should have been sent up through the officers.

"Another place where I think I have missed it was when sent to a new company I should have always obtained an interview with the company commander, rather than an inferior officer, told him what I felt that I could do or could not do (being very sure of what that would be) and then stick right to it. They have been very persistent in trying to get me to soldier. I was in the stockade nearly three weeks, had a trial and was turned out. Am under guard again now for refusing to go to rifle range with pack, etc. May be sent to prison this trip as a number of C. O.'s have been from here."

To another friend he writes of the same incident:

"I refused to carry a rifle to the target-field this P. M. also to put on the khaki uniform, and received quite a beating. An officer put the clothes on me, but I did not go out with the gun. I am rather a bad-looking specimen about the face this evening.

"I earnestly desire I may not falter to the weakening of the cause. I do not want my parents to know how I have been used until the battle is over."

"What I could or could not do—*being very sure of what that would be—*," and "I earnestly desire I may not falter to the weakening of the cause"—this is the spirit of quiet determination, without any self-conscious martyrdom or sense of priggishness that inspired these young Quakers alike in their religious resistance to the force of military authority and in their service of the war-ridden French in the reconstruction work.

The story of W. R. at Camp Dodge, presents the same case from a slightly different angle. Says W. R.:

"I had a written statement with me when I went to camp but did not know just how to present it. I still had it when I reached the barracks so I mailed it from there to the Camp Commander right away.

"I do not feel as though it is right for me to do any military service. They started out the next morning as if they expected me to go along like the rest. When we were taken upstairs the officer started to tell us things about the army. He said we must take our hats off. I did not feel that it was right to take mine off to one man more than another, so I was taken, I think to the Company Commander who told me I was wrong and asked questions about our Society. I also showed him my noncombatant card, certificate of membership (in the Society of Friends) and Secretary Baker's order. Then I was brought to the guard house where I am yet.

"I was treated a little rough yesterday, but last evening a camp chaplain, I think he said he was, seeing my lip swollen, took me into the Officer of the Guard's room and had a talk with me. He talked very reasonable, and seemed to think I ought to be handled according to law, but not to be abused.

"Several of the men have talked to me and said they were sorry for me and that I had better change my mind and be a man and I would feel better.

"But I feel like sticking to my convictions. The longer I am here the worse war seems to me."

W. R.'s case soon became aggravated because his conscience was against saluting officers. He was the only conscientious objector in his group whose conscience was quite so stiff on that detail, and he was very naturally a marked man by the officers, accused of discourtesy, insubordination, sullenness, and what not, court-martialed and sentenced to three months' hard labor. To labor under mili-

tary orders was to become part of the military machine, especially as fatigue duties and extra drills were part of the camp method of making even the punishment meted out to the men conduce to their intensive military training. Therefore W. R. refused to "labor," and was placed in the guard house to work out his sentence in solitary confinement. This meant being kept under a special guard in one corner of the guard house, and not allowed to communicate with the others in any way. He ate when the others had finished eating, and for part of the time was only allowed two meals a day. He got no exercise at all. His mail was interfered with, sometimes stopped, and always censored. Relatives and friends who came to visit him were usually not allowed to see him at all. When his father obtained that privilege, it was only to be allowed to hold a fifteen minutes' talk with his son from outside the guard house door, while the guard kept W. R. inside.

A Friend who finally got a permit to see the conscientious objectors who were in the guard house at one time, to the number of about fifteen, reported:

"W. R. showed a beautiful spirit but was very broken, and could hardly talk much of the time."

The efforts of friends outside mitigated somewhat towards the end of his imprisonment the rigors of his treatment, and he was allowed to walk to and from meals, which afforded him a minimum of fresh air and exercise and a little change, though he was still not allowed to speak to any one.

As a little sidelight upon the earnest conscientiousness of this young man, and the puzzling problem he presented to his superiors, unaccustomed to the scrupulousness of a sensitive conscience, it is worthy of remark that on

at least one occasion when he failed to salute an officer he was dragged up and made to stand at attention for three hours. He consented to do this because, as he says, it was for a punishment and not for respect to a military order which seemed to him contrary to Christianity. The favorite punishment of shovelling and carrying loads of sand and dirt, to wear down the recalcitrant recruit by exhaustion, he also consented to, for the same reason.

These cases are fairly typical of the behavior and treatment of the out-and-outer, the various penalties including stoppage of mail, both incoming and outgoing, deprivation of personal possessions, ridicule, bullying, wearying and unceasing argument, coupled with threats of shooting or imprisonment, attempts of every kind to trip them and "get them in bad" (as they expressed it), starvation—one man was kept for sixteen consecutive meals on bread and water,—and various ways of wearing a man down by physical weariness,—prolonged standing, carrying heavy weights, staggering up and down earth hills with burdens, throwing men in garbage wagons, etc., the military machine trying every means, physical and mental, to bring the objectors to submission.

Camps in which Quakers (as well as Mennonite and other C. O.'s) were present in the course of the draft were: Camp Benjamin Harrison, Camp Custer, Camp Cody, Camp Devens, Camp Dix, Camp Dodge, Camp Du Pont, Camp Flagler, Camp Funston, Camp Gordon, Camp Grant, Camp Hancock, Camp Forrest, Camp Fremont, Camp Jackson, Camp Jessup, Camp Kearney, Fort Leavenworth, Camp Lee, Camp Lewis, Camp Meade, Camp Macarthur, Fort Mcdowell, Camp Merritt, Camp Mills, Fort Oglethorpe, Camp Pike, Camp Raritan, Camp Sever, Camp Shelley, Camp Sherman, Camp Taylor, Fort Thomas,

Camp Travis, Camp Upton, Camp Wadsworth, Camp Williams.

The Service Committee, seeing the important work that would be called for in connection with the Friends in the camps, appointed F. Algernon Evans secretary of this branch of work. He carried on extensive correspondence with the drafted men and gave them a large amount of assistance, of the sort that could be rendered from a distant center. It seemed necessary also to have some way of getting closer to the men who were carrying on their lonely struggle, and for this reason Paul J. Furnas was appointed field secretary. He visited the camps throughout the country and gave the men much personal help and refreshment in their hour of testing.

His method was on arriving at a camp to obtain an interview with the commanding officer and state his credentials and ask for any information that the officer himself could furnish as to the conduct and treatment of C. O.'s in that camp. He would also ask permission to see the members of the Society of Friends that might be in the camp. These direct, open and above-board methods usually resulted in friendly relations being established with the commanding officer, especially as Paul Furnas asked for any directions as to conduct that the commanding officer might desire to give him.

He was then usually permitted to see the Friends who were in camp, and was able to see and hear for himself what their difficulties were. After this he would see the commanding officer again and report, and would go over carefully the rulings of Secretary Baker with regard to the segregation and treatment of C. O.'s. As a general rule these recommendations had escaped the notice of the commanding officer, and he was often grateful for the sugges-

tion as to how to deal with a problem that had become very tiresome to him.

Many of the yearly meetings had draft committees to look after their men and much local service was rendered in the camps by members of these committees. In several camps religious meetings were held for the Friends and for other C. O.'s who were interested, and for the most part the camp officers made the way easy for visits and for personal intercourse, though in the later periods of camp life the regulations concerning the visits of those who were not recognized chaplains became more strict.

When Friends and other C. O.'s were segregated, they were provided with the necessities of life and daily rations of raw food, and did their own cooking, looked after their quarters, did their own laundry, and in every way were as independent of the camp organization as possible. This entailed a good deal of extra "roughing it," but was a great improvement on any other plan, as the C. O.'s were inevitably in the awkward position, though refusing pay, of being fed and "housed" at the expense of the government willy nilly, and the segregation into a self-serving community diminished their obligation to the minimum. It also provided them with much-longed-for occupation. Wearisome enough it was to be employed on such comparatively useless labor when the farms were crying out for man-power to produce food and France was needing consecrated labor for the comfort of the peasantry and the reëstablishment of their lives. And the efforts of the Service Committee by no means ceased as they succeeded in getting the men segregated in the various camps.

By an order of the President issued November 8th, 1917, a new selective service regulation was put into operation. By this order all previous exemptions were revoked. An

extensive questionnaire had to be answered by every man of military age and by this new plan any American member of our unit in France might be called home for service under the draft. This raised a multitude of new problems. To make matters still more difficult the President's long-delayed ruling upon what should constitute "non-combatant service" under the Draft Act was issued March 20th, 1918, and failed to recognize the Friends' objection to any form of service under the military system.

The President's executive order was as follows:

I hereby declare that the following military service is non-combatant service:

1.–a. Service in the Medical Corps wherever performed. This includes service in the sanitary detachments attached to combatant units at the front; service in the divisional sanitary trains composed of ambulance companies and field hospital companies, on the line of communications, at the base in France, and with the troops and at hospitals in the United States; also the service of supply and repair in the Medical Department.

b. Any service in the Quartermaster Corps in the United States may be treated as noncombatant. Also, in rear of zone of operations, service in the following: stevedore companies, labor companies, remount depots, veterinary hospitals, supply depots, bakery companies, the subsistence service, the bathing service, the laundry service, the salvage service, the clothing renovation service, the shoe repair service, the transportation repair service, and motor-truck companies.

c. Any engineer service in the United States may be treated as noncombatant service. Also, in rear of zone of operations, service as follows: railroad building, operation and repair; road building and repair; construction of rear line fortifications, auxiliary defenses, etc., construction of docks, wharves, storehouses and of such cantonments as may be built by the Corps of Engineers; topographical work; camouflage; map reproduction; sup-

ply depot service; repair service; hydraulic service; and forestry service.

2.–Persons ordered to report for military service under the above Act who have (a) been certified by their Local Boards to be members of a religious sect or organization as defined in section 4 of said act; or (b) who object to participating in war because of conscientious scruples but have failed to receive certificates as members of a religious sect or organization from their Local Board, will be assigned to noncombatant military service as defined in paragraph 1 to the extent that such persons are able to accept service as aforesaid without violation of the religious or other conscientious scruples by them in good faith entertained. Upon the promulgation of this order it shall be the duty of each Division, Camp, or Post Commander, through a tactful and considerate officer, to present to all such persons the provisions hereof with adequate explanation of the character of noncombatant service herein defined, and upon such explanations to secure acceptances of assignment to the several kinds of noncombatant service above enumerated; and whenever any person is assigned to noncombatant service by reason of his religious or other conscientious scruples, he shall be given a certificate stating the assignment and reason therefor, and such certificate shall thereafter be respected as preventing the transfer of such persons from such noncombatant to combatant service by any Division, Camp, Post, or other Commander under whom said person may thereafter be called to serve, but such certificate shall not prevent the assignment of such person to some other form of noncombatant service with his own consent. So far as may be found feasible by each Division, Camp, or Post Commander, future assignments of such persons to noncombatant military service will be restricted to the several detachments and units of the Medical Department in the absence of a request for assignment to some other branch of noncombatant service as defined in paragraph 1 hereof.

3.–On the first day of April, and thereafter monthly, each Division, Camp, or Post Commander shall report to the Adjutant General of the Army, for the information of the Chief of Staff

and the Secretary of War, the names of all persons under their respective commands who profess religious or other conscientious scruples as above described and who have been unwilling to accept, by reason of such scruples, assignment to noncombatant military service as above defined, and as to each such person so reported a brief, comprehensive statement as to the nature of the objection to the acceptance of such noncombatant military service entertained. The Secretary of War will from time to time classify the persons so reported and give further directions as to the disposition of them. Pending such directions from the Secretary of War, all such persons not accepting assignment to noncombatant service shall be segregated as far as practicable and placed under the command of a specially qualified officer of tact and judgment, who will be instructed to impose no punitive hardship of any kind upon them, but not to allow their objections to be made the basis of any favor or consideration beyond exemption from military service which is not extended to any other soldier in the service of the United States.

4.–With a view to maintaining discipline, it is pointed out that the discretion of courts-martial, so far as any shall be ordered to deal with the cases of persons who fail or refuse to comply with lawful orders by reason of alleged religious or other conscientious scruples, should be exercised, if feasible, so as to secure uniformity of penalties in the imposition of sentences under Articles of War 64 and 65, for the wilful disobedience of a lawful order or command. It will be recognized that sentences imposed by such courts-martial, when not otherwise described by law, shall prescribe confinement in the United States Disciplinary Barracks or elsewhere as the Secretary of War or the reviewing authority may direct, but not in a penitentiary; but this shall not apply to the cases of men who desert either before reporting for duty to the military authorities or subsequently thereto.

5.–The Secretary of War will revise the sentences and findings of courts-martial heretofore held of persons who come within any of the classes herein described, and bring to the attention of

the President for remedy, if any be needed, sentences and judgments found at variance with provisions hereof.

WOODROW WILSON.

The White House,
20 March, 1918.

This ruling made the absolutist C. O.'s position much more difficult, while it tended to draw those who did not think deeply over the issues into forms of army service. The large proportion, however, of the Friends in camps remained unmoved by the ruling and stood out as before against all complicity with the military system. A few more specimen cases will further illustrate the mind of the boys and the difficulties which confronted them.

Here is a little light on Camp Jackson. A man, succeeding in getting an uncensored letter through, writes:

"We are segregated to a certain extent. We occupy about nine or ten tents in a row and at the end of our tents is our mess-hall, where we cook, eat, and wash mess kits, etc., by ourselves. But our row of tents is only about 30 to 35 feet away from a row that is occupied by soldiers, only a street between that comes to our tent-stake. This street is used by the soldiers, we not being allowed on that street. Our tents face the other way, and in front of them is a street about 25 feet wide and we are not allowed to get off that street only to go to the mess hall and our toilet. . . .

"We are not allowed to buy a paper, and our mail is delayed. What comes in is often from seven to fourteen days old.

"We are guarded as if we were criminals, three soldiers with rifles being on guard over us night and day. They work in shifts, three at a time. . . .

"I can right now touch a boy that was kicked until his legs were blue from just below the knee to the ankle, and was taken by the collar twice and violently jerked to the floor scrubbing the blood out of his face and almost choked to death. His face was bruised

until his right eye was completely swelled together. Here lest I forget it I want to say that the fellow that abused him went crazy and had to be discharged. They say while he was crazy he would pray an hour and a half some nights and cry and call for that Quaker boy that he wanted to talk to him again.

"Another fellow had his two upper front teeth knocked out, and several have been put in the guard house for several days and kept on bread and water."

A boy in the training detachment of Indianapolis, Ind., was set to pull weeds on the camp ground, including poison ivy. The boy, very anxious not to be recalcitrant when his conscientious stand made him already so unable to obey most orders, begged to be allowed to leave the poison ivy but was ordered by his guard to pull it. He obeyed, and was badly poisoned, but was kept so ceaselessly busy, and without a moment of respite or privacy—being constantly under guard—that he was unable to treat his poisoned body and relieve himself.

At Camp Funston some of the men received very fair treatment. J. T. B. refused to put on the uniform or drill, and was excused from both. He consented, unofficially, to make himself useful by cleaning the officers' tents. "This," he remarks, "gave me a splendid chance to get acquainted with the officers, and I had quite a talk with the captain one day. I am willing to do this work as I would not wish to be idle. And then it dispels the idea that we do not wish to do anything."

Other camps were more severe. L. E. M. of Waynesville, Ohio, was tried at Camp Greenleaf for refusing to wear uniform or do fatigue duty, and sentenced to ten years.

U. DeR. was tried at Fort Riley for refusing any kind of noncombatant service under military control, and the court-

martial sentenced him to imprisonment for life, afterwards commuted by General Wood to twenty-five years.

G. L. was sentenced for thirty years from Camp Dodge. He was taken to Fort Leavenworth on December 4th. He refused to work at the prison, and was placed in solitary confinement in the "hole" until December 26th. For the first two weeks he was given nothing but bread and water to eat. For the first seven days he was chained to the door of his cell for nine hours a day. His arms were thrust through the bars, and handcuffed on the outside. His bed at first consisted of three boards and three blankets. He was allowed to write only one letter every two weeks.

It is evident by these few examples that the conditions under which the C. O. found himself differed very greatly according to the character of the men in authority in the camps, and with the personal tact and power of self-expression of the C. O.

An inarticulate man, slow of speech and thought, was set down as sullen by impatient officers. A man who was too ready to talk was recalcitrant and defiant.

At Camp Funston the C. O. was able to satisfy his conscience and keep on good terms with the powers that were by doing odd cleaning jobs without uniform.

At Camp Fort Lee the C. O. asked in vain for any work of a non-military nature that would not necessitate putting on the uniform.

The life of inaction, of loafing in segregated quarters or in the guard house, that was imposed on the C. O. in many camps was the most testing that could be imposed on healthy, active young men. Many who found their strength not enough for the trial, and were driven into compromise, were broken by the idleness. They could not stand it.

But the large majority who began by an uncompromising, decided line, were strengthened to maintain it to the end. No doubt the problem would have been simplified, both for the C. O. and the military, if all C. O.s had made a uniform stand, but the corollary of freedom of conscience is a final farewell to uniformity. Every man followed the light that he saw, and one's perception of light is limited by one's clearness of vision. A luminous and logical conscience is not the growth of a day but of a lifetime. Previous habits of thought, previous knowledge of God, former integrity or carelessness of life entered into each man's conception of his duty in the crisis.

Some of the men who went to camp accepted the uniform, and presently accepted some form of noncombatant service. In some cases they did this more or less deliberately. It was, of course, the line of least resistance.

Others accepted it through muddled thinking, promoted by false or misleading information on the part of the local authorities. As an example of this, one may quote from a letter of C. H. one of the staunch C. O.'s at Camp Funston.

"6, 29, 18. This evening several new objectors have come into camp here, just from the receiving station. This is something new, as most of us put in from two weeks to eight months before being segregated. I am told that these men have all signed up for noncombatant military service. In fact the pressure to do so is being increased. One fellow told me the officers assured him that all the C. O.'s had done so. . . . While I was writing the above H. H. walked in. He is one of the new arrivals, and said he signed an acceptance of base hospital work. The officers persuaded him that he could change his decision in this matter later if he wished. I feel sure he has been duped."

Of those who, on coming to camps not decided exactly where to draw the line, were persuaded into acceptance of

apparently innocuous soldiering, the majority took one or other of the following lines of submission: Kitchen work, hospital work—or other work in the Army Ambulance Corps,—work in the Quartermaster Corps, the Engineer Corps, or other similar work which would not, except in emergency, involve actual fighting. Some accepted the uniform right away, others would at first only wear part—one man drew the line at putting on the cap—most drilled, but some refused to carry weapons.

Some remained satisfied with their position, but others were uneasy in their consciences, and later tried to take up a more uncompromising stand. The difficulty which beset them may be imagined. It was practically impossible for them to convince any authorities of their sincerity. The military authorities became great sticklers for unswerving erectness of conscience, and were swift to point out to an unfortunate waverer the inconsistencies in his conduct, even when these had been partly due to his too great reliance upon their assurances.

For instance, one man writes: "I presented a card from the local board to the captain, he stated that the Friends that were drafted now were not any more than any one else, that the President was sending them to prison."

And many simple-minded, honest lads, unaccustomed to sophistry and subtle dealing, were persuaded into taking kitchen and orderly work by being told that it "sorter paid for their board." Nevertheless their having accepted such work made it harder for them later to establish their position as sincere conscientious objectors.

The difficulties occasioned by taking a false step are illustrated by the following experiences of two men in Camp Flagler.

M. and C., two Quaker boys drafted to Fort Flagler in

the State of Washington, refused to take the military oath or to put on the uniform, and were at once put in the guard house upon their arrival in camp. A Friend who investigated the case writes:

"Form 174 was ignored. I had several talks with officers, then we were brought before the major and told that President Wilson had ordered C. O.'s to do odd jobs in camps—in fact everything but bear arms. They were told if they would take the oath all would be well. That this was their last chance. If they did not obey now they would be court-martialed. The boys refused to take the oath, and were returned to the guard house. . . . Money confiscated. C. threatened with seven years' confinement. The only charges are refusal to act contrary to Form 174 which each has. . . ."

Another Friend went to see the boys and persuaded them to take the affirmation which the officers insisted upon. This they finally did under his influence, but against their own judgment. They were promised that this action would in no way prejudice their case when the president gave his ruling.

Shortly, however, afterwards their refusal to drill or to put on the uniform caused C. and M. to be put into the guard house, this time they were separated and were not allowed to communicate with any one. They were ordered to do various military fatigue duties, and the uniform put on M. by force. The latter, who was a large fellow, fully six feet tall, was confined in a cell six feet by four. Their mail was censored, delayed, and sometimes suppressed. Says M. in a letter which he succeeded in getting out at this time:

"R. C. and I are silent room orderlies, sweep out, etc., and go out one at a time for half-hour walks in the eve-

ning. . . . We eat in the guard house now; R. C. at one end of the table, and I at the other. . . ."

The Friends Service Committee took up these cases with the authorities at Washington, and the officers at Camp Flagler next raised doubts as to whether M. and C. were really members of the Society of Friends. Affidavits proving their membership and good standing in the Society were at once obtained and also their certificates of membership. But there were many delays. The reason for the doubt cast upon their membership by the district commander was that he stated that he did not understand how these men, if they were Quakers, could have been inducted into the military service, which local Friends interpreted as referring to their having taken the oath i.e. by affirmation.

M.'s court-martial was now imminent, the charges being that he had disobeyed orders, was guilty of mutiny, and of not wearing uniform. A ten years' sentence was threatened. M.'s health was affected by the prolonged confinement, and his throat gave him much trouble.

They were kept in solitary confinement for three months, but finally through much effort on the part of Paul Furnas, under the system of furlough, to be described in the next chapter, they were turned over to our committee and were sent to France.

CHAPTER IX

FURLOUGHED FOR RECONSTRUCTION

THE men whose story has been all too briefly told in the previous chapter, by their faith and their readiness to suffer for it, were in the true Quaker "apostolic succession." They took their stand on a *principle* which seemed to them absolutely true and sound, and they resolved to hold that truth unwaveringly whatever the cost might be. It was impossible for any one to call them "cowards" since their bearing and spirit "bewrayed" them as brave and unafraid, and belonging in the Galilean fellowship.

The War Department was honestly disposed to have them properly treated while in camp and also desirous of finding some just solution of their anomalous problem. There were, however, two grave difficulties which made it extremely hard to hit upon a satisfactory solution. One difficulty was that the officials who had the matter immediately in hand did not comprehend the meaning of *conscience*. They were inclined to consider the state of mind of the C. O. to be one either of stubbornness or of stupidity, or of abnormality, or, more likely, one of shamming. Even men who were kindly disposed, as were a great number of those who were confronted with the problem, did not seem able to understand the *moral attitude* of the men. When the course of the nation had been once settled and we had officially decided to go to war, to these public officials that act closed the debate. They could

not see how an individual could venture to set up his own tribunal and go contrary to the established line of march of the world to which he belonged. It was hard to be fair to such a freaky specimen as the C. O. seemed to be, and patient with him.

But the still graver difficulty which confronted the War Department was the danger of multiplying the group of C. O.'s by being too lenient with the first ones with whom they had to deal. The Department assumed that the moment the rumor got abroad that C. O.'s were to have an easy path and that the claim of conscience offered a way to escape from military service there would be "legions" of these claimants. This prudential attitude kept the Department from formulating any final decision. As soon as the second draft was arranged for it became evident that the C. O.'s in the first draft could expect no relief and no decision in their cases. They must be used, if possible, to scare off other persons who might be inclined to imitate them. There was, therefore, no chance for us to secure any satisfactory disposal of these early cases until the danger of their influence upon other drafted men had passed by.

While, therefore, we could not succeed during the winter of 1917–18 in getting any relief for the Friends who were confined in the barracks, we were busily engaged in working out a plan for keeping the members of our unit, who were already in France, from being called home for the second draft. The War Department which was always in sympathy with our work of relief and reconstruction abroad, saw how futile it would be to break up the work these men were doing, to bring them back to America for the purpose of the draft, and to send them to the camps to swell the ranks of the C. O.'s whom they didn't know

how to dispose of. It was not easy, however, to hit upon a plan that would *work* and would not at the same time be inconsistent with the legal provisions of the draft and the definite rulings of the Provost Marshal. We had numerous conferences on these points with the officials of the Department. Everything was done that could fairly be done to extend the time of the Friends overseas, and a most favorable temporary scheme was arranged through the Provost Marshal's office by which each member of the Reconstruction Unit had his "call" delayed, while the whole problem of the disposal of "conscientious objectors" was awaiting solution. This temporary delay enabled us to keep the entire group of workers in France throughout the winter, though we never knew when the plan which was only a makeshift might be suddenly upset. We were, of course, all the time working for a permanent solution of the situation, a solution of a sort that would not only insure the stability of the men abroad but that would also release the men in camps for a similar service. Many tentative plans were suggested but obviously no plan could be finally adopted by the Department until it satisfied the judgment of a great variety of persons concerned, and was felt to be efficient and "safe" both from a political point of view and especially from the perspective of the newspapers. One scheme which met with considerable favor was a plan to turn over the conscientious objectors, who were believed to be sincere, to a joint commission composed of members of the Society of Friends, the Mennonites and the Brethren (Dunkards). The three religious societies were asked by the Department to choose and organize such a commission and have it ready to act. The plan as tentatively arranged was drawn up as follows:

"The commission shall be composed of at least nine men

of broad and understanding sympathies to be named by the religious organizations whose principles are opposed to war, subject to the approval of the Secretary of War, as follows: three from the Society of Friends, three from the Mennonites, and three from the Church of the Brethren, all of whom shall give, without compensation from the Government, faithful attention to the work which naturally comes before the commission.

"Drafted men belonging to the above religious denominations, and others conscientiously opposed to military service who may be recommended by the Secretary of War and approved by the commission, on being referred by the War Department to said commission, shall be by it organized and employed in one or other of the civil pursuits entirely removed from military control, and shall receive no pay from the War Department for such service:

"First.—Agriculture.
"Second.—Civil relief and reconstruction work abroad.
"Third.—Forestry or other reclamation work.

"Fourth.—In general civilian occupations recommended by the Commission and approved by the War Department.

"It is understood that said drafted men shall be kept employed in some useful pursuit as above, and that monthly reports from said drafted men shall be sent to the commission stating briefly the nature of the work in which they are engaged, compensation therefor, health of the individual, and other such matters as may seem of interest; a summary of these reports to be forwarded to the War Department at such times as it may direct."

The following persons were named by the respective denominations to constitute the commission:

For the Friends:
Rufus M. Jones, Haverford, Pa., who was made chairman of the commission
William B. Harvey, Philadelphia, Pa.
J. Lawrence Lippincott, Riverton, N. J.
For the Mennonites:
J. S. Hartveller, Scottdale, Pa.
Silas M. Grubb, Philadelphia, Pa.
Peter N. Nissley, Mount Joy, Pa.
For the Brethren:
W. J. Swigart, Huntingdon, Pa.
C. B. Bonsack, New Windsor, Md.
I. W. Taylor, Neffsville, Pa.

After much consideration, consultation and correspondence it did not seem best to put this plan into operation. It was sure to be open to criticism on the part of those who wanted severe measures used toward these men, and persons of such attitude could hardly approve of turning the C. O.'s over to the tender mercies of their own friends and people! The next plan, the one which was finally adopted, was a furlough system. In its earliest form and stage the furlough-plan was put into operation to use in agricultural work the men who could be spared from the camps. This gave the suggestion for the plan to make disposition of conscientious objectors. The Act of Congress under which furloughs were arranged passed the Senate February 5th, 1918 as follows:

"AN ACT

To authorize the Secretary of War to grant furloughs without pay and allowances to enlisted men of the Army of the United States.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of

the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whenever during the continuance of the present war in the opinion of the Secretary of War the interests of the service or the national security and defense render it necessary or desirable, The Secretary of War be, and he hereby is, authorized to grant furloughs to enlisted men of the Army of the United States with or without pay and allowances or with partial pay and allowances, and, for such periods as he may designate, to permit said enlisted men to engage in civil occupations and pursuits."

This amendment was added in the House: "Provided that such furloughs shall be granted only upon the voluntary application of such enlisted men under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of War." This change was accepted by the Senate March 9th and the Act immediately received the President's signature. The War Department in its interpretation and ruling upon the scope of the furlough system decided that men who were found to be sincere conscientious objectors to war might be furloughed either for agriculture in this country or for reconstruction work in France under the American Friends Service Committee, the work of our committee being specifically named in the ruling. A board of inquiry of three persons—in the first instance two civilians and an army officer, at a later period all three being civilians—was appointed by the Department to visit the camps, interview the C. O.'s and decide upon the "sincerity" of their profession.[1] The board was composed of serious, high-minded, kindly disposed men, who honestly endeavored to do the impossible, i.e. to decide after a brief interview with the men, who among them was sincere and who was insincere.

[1] It was originally planned to segregate all the C. O.'s at Fort Leavenworth and to have the Board of Inquiry do its work there.

There were further long delays before it could be decided who should have the immediate care of the men recommended for furlough by this board. At first the Department was in favor of using the Joint Commission mentioned above, and later of having a single commissioner who should be directly responsible for the men, our commission being only advisory. While attending New England Yearly Meeting in June, 1918, I received the following telegram from Secretary Keppel of the War Department: "The Board of Inquiry seems to favor having a single commissioner responsible for furlough of conscientious objectors your committee [meaning the Joint Commission] acting in an advisory capacity to such commissioner, suggesting assignments of individual men, looking up references of employers, etc., but leaving routine operation, such as checking of reports, etc., to commissioner whom the Department would hold responsible for the smooth working of the system. It is suggested that a competent adjutant sympathetic with the whole question be detailed for this purpose. Do you think that this arrangement if approved by the Secretary of War would be satisfactory to you and your associates?"

I replied that the general plan would be satisfactory, but that the entire arrangement would almost certainly break down if an adjutant or any military officer were selected for the position of commissioner. I pointed out that the C. O.'s could not change their attitude about serving under the military system and that the success of the plan depended on its being civilian throughout After much correspondence and personal discussion the point was accepted and Professor R. C. McCrea of Columbia University was appointed commissioner, than whom

no more suitable man for this place could have been selected. As the men furloughed for reconstruction work in France were eventually to be under the care of the Service Committee it was rightly felt and decided that this committee rather than the Joint Commission should be responsible for them and should deal directly with the commissioner, or with the officials of the Department, as the case required.

Practically all the conscientious objectors who were given the opportunity of accepting furlough for our service abroad felt free to do so, though a tiny few declined to accept any way out. Most of the Friends who were segregated in the camps as C. O.'s had already been accepted as members of the Friends Unit and were only waiting for the chance to go to France. The way which was offered seemed to them as free of moral obstacles or compromises as any which could be devised in the midst of a great war, and they seized the opportunity to show their readiness for service of a type which conformed with their spiritual aims.

Just as these arrangements were culminating Vincent D. Nicholson, our executive secretary, was called in the draft and was unable to secure exemption. He had taken an extremely able part in the development of every feature of the work and he had borne a full share of the burdens and responsibilities of every undertaking from the day the work was organized to the day he left for camp. His mind was keen and brilliant. He was quick to seize upon a course of action and highly gifted in the power to discover solutions of difficulties. He possessed unusual moral and spiritual qualities of life. His motives were pure, his eye single, and his heart was right. His life is forever built into the work which the Service Committee has done and it seemed peculiarly tragic to have him taken from his task at the moment when the door was opening for

a great extension of the work which he had eminently helped to plan and construct.[1]

Wilbur K. Thomas of Boston was at this time giving two months of volunteer service in our office—the months of July and August, 1918. He had already done splendid service on the Service Committee of New England Yearly Meeting, particularly in connection with the men segregated in Camp Devens, at Ayer, Massachusetts. His temporary work in the office revealed his traits of efficiency, and his devotion to the cause had been clear to everybody who knew him. From the time he was made executive secretary until the present moment he has been a weighty factor in the development and direction of every part of the wide and complex undertakings. He has revealed capacity for organization and an equal talent for matters of large scope as for small details. Power to stand hard, heavy work and to keep his head clear and his spirit sweet is not the least feature among the qualifications with which he appears to be gifted. These two executive secretaries were so vitally connected with every part of the work, that one or the other of them is inseparably linked into every important undertaking of the committee.

Vincent Nicholson and I had a very important engagement in Washington (August 1, 1918) for which I had come to the Capital from Maine. On arrival there I found a telegram from Vincent saying that he was called to

[1] The wheels moved pitiably slow when the question of his furlough came up. Many efforts were made to secure it and to hasten it, but his period in camp lasted until the time of the armistice. As soon as he was free he applied for service abroad, was accepted, and began his activity in France as a humble laborer at hut-building, rapidly rising to other tasks where his gifts could come more fully into play; and at a later period of his service he undertook an important mission to Vienna and Poland.

camp and could not join me. Again and again we had worked together in Washington on critical problems and I felt now somewhat as Paul must have felt alone in Athens. I had a great day's work to do and no companion to help share the strain of it. It proved a memorable day, however, for the decisions that were reached. On my return to Philadelphia the executive board was called together. It was decided to ask Wilbur K. Thomas to become executive secretary, and I was commissioned to secure, if possible, his release from his engagements in Boston. A committee of Boston Friends' Meeting met my train and we held the decisive conference in South Station, surrounded by soldiers going and coming, and by a moving throng that wondered what we were debating so eagerly! The result was that Wilbur Thomas was secured for the important post. He threw himself at once into the work with enthusiasm and with rare ability. One of the earliest of his new tasks was the formation of plans for taking care of the furloughed men during the interim period before they could sail for France. It was decided to take Merion Hall, at Haverford College, as a home and headquarters for these men while they were waiting. They were given opportunities for studying French, for practicing automobile driving and repair, and for learning to cook and serve meals. They also did a large amount of farm work on Haverford College and other near-by farms.

The first group of men from the camps who arrived at Merion Hall felt powerfully moved when they found themselves at last at the haven of their hopes, and they aroused deep emotions in the hearts of those who welcomed them. Some of the men who came in from their long train journeys sat down on the steps of the hall and wept for sheer joy. During the first period of the sojourn at

Merion Hall Wilbur Thomas lived with the men and gave them much counsel and fellowship. The personnel committee, a sub-committee of the Service Committee, had the immediate oversight of the furloughed men and of their selection and equipment for the field service. This committee, whose work now became greatly expanded, was enlarged in membership and was reorganized with Morris E. Leeds as its chairman. He gave a large amount of time to the extensive work under the personnel committee and proved here, as he had done in France, a wise and devoted leader and counsellor.

The number of the furloughed men steadily increased and the promises of the War Department led us to expect that a large part of all the conscientious objectors would soon be turned over to us to be provided for. Meantime we could only very slowly get the men off for overseas. Passports came very tardily, passages were hard to secure, and it was not possible to assimilate large groups of men at a time into the work in France. It, therefore, became necessary for us to work out some better plan for the temporary management of the men and for using their labor while they were in "demurrage." At this juncture William B. Harvey, who had kept in close touch with the conscientious objectors and who had been very active in helping to solve their problems, discovered a large fruit-farm at Rosedale, near Kennett Square, admirably adapted for our purposes, which could be rented as a home for the large body of men. The farm was very carefully inspected by members of the committee and by agricultural experts, and was found to be almost exactly what we wanted. More than fifty acres of the farm were covered with apple and pear trees, the fruit ready for picking. There were crops to be gathered, large quantities of wood waiting to be

sawed and sold, threshing of the grain to be done, corn to be husked, and a multitude of other lines of work inviting eager, active men. There was a large summer boarding-house on the farm, capable of holding one hundred and fifty persons, but without any heating facilities for the winter and a spacious farm-house which could be transformed and fitted as winter quarters for a large group of men. We arranged a lease of the place and divided the men between Merion Hall and the Rosedale Farm. Those who were nearly ready to sail, and who were in the last stages of preparation for departure, were assigned to the former place, and those who had a longer stage of waiting before them went to Rosedale. These arrangements were hardly more than effected when the epidemic of influenza fell upon this part of the world. Our men in both quarters volunteered at once for hospital duties and almost every one of the men went out to some form of service for the sick and the dying in the two neighborhoods where they lived. Some of them of course took the disease but no one of them succumbed to it. Their help in this crisis was a godsend and it was received with fervent appreciation.

Murray Kenworthy lived for a time with the men at Rosedale as warden and when he had to return home Thomas K. Brown, formerly principal of Westtown School, was asked to become house-father to the family, a position which he filled with devotion and marked success.

The men set to work with a will to pick the plentiful fruit of the farm, sort it into grades and sell it; to cut and husk the corn-crop; to make apple-butter and cider of some of the apples; to build on a lean-to kitchen to the farm-house; to set up shower-baths and washing arrangements in one of the porches; to make a sewage-disposal plant; and, since the water was found to be unsanitary, to

bore a well and set up a water-system. About the middle of December the men moved into the farm-house, which was from that time on used exclusively. In addition to the tasks already mentioned, the men had to care for the stock and were also hired out to neighboring farmers to help pay for the cost of their keep and the improvements they were forced to make in the house.

It was interesting to find that for every task that presented itself some man among the number offered himself as an expert, or at least a competent performer of the work. A man who had had his ear-drums broken by brutality in camp was discovered to be an expert fruit-grower, and organized the grading, selling and buying in connection with the fruit. Another had been technical instructor at a Dunkard college, and was of material assistance in directing and helping with the engineering feats; several carpenters presented themselves, one mess expert, while a large proportion of the men were competent farmers. They were a strongly religious group. They held a mid-week service, attended neighboring places of worship on First Day, and often had a service for themselves in the evening as well. Many Friends and others visited them to help with these services.

Altogether Rosedale Farm was occupied by the men for only five months, and towards the end of the time the men were being shifted at such a rate that almost the whole group would change every fortnight. This was, of course, very difficult for the work, and added much to complications of managing the farm and home. When the use of the farm came to an end the committee had made about $4000 by the sale of fruit, apple-butter and wood, and had been largely able to provide the entire body of men with food. This income went a good ways towards covering the

cost of the experiment, though owing to the exceptional difficulties it was never quite self-supporting. The spirit of the place, the warm comradeship, the atmosphere of willing service for no return was delightful to experience, and will remain a bright memory for all those engaged in the work at Rosedale Farm, and for those also who had the management of it.

The total number of men turned over to us on furlough was exactly two hundred. It would, of course, have been very much larger had not the armistice brought release to the men in the camps soon after the furlough system got well into working shape. It was noteworthy that as the armistice came into force and brought to the men the opportunity to be released from their farm-furloughs, the great majority of them came to the Service Committee to volunteer of their own free will for a year's service in France.

Our next and last important task in connection with the conscientious objectors under the draft was to secure from the War Department an arrangement by which all our men in France, who were technically counted as drafted men, could be discharged without returning to the camps at which they were "inducted." We naturally wanted a form of release that would cover not only the furloughed men, but also as well the men abroad who had been "called" and had had their call "delayed" by special arrangement. We were told by all officials whom we visited in Washington that no arrangement could be made to grant "discharges" to any men until they presented themselves at the camp which they had entered. It appeared, however, from our interviews that the chief-of-staff was the person of final authority in such matters. We asked for an interview with him. At that time General Marsh was

abroad and General Jervey was acting-chief. He was unspeakably busy, but, as we were well introduced by persons of authority, he interrupted another interview and received us. I told him what we wanted. His answer was: "It cannot be done. There is no arrangement by which anybody can have a 'release' without coming home." A burst of faith and inspiration came to me and, in a flash, I pictured to him what our work in France meant and what disaster it would involve to bring the men home for their discharges. He showed instant interest and asked a number of questions about the men and their work, and remarked, "It would be a shame to upset such a work." I earnestly pressed my request and to my joy he said: "I will see that a plan is arranged to accomplish this. You may count on it." It was happily accomplished as promised and the "furloughs" came to an end.

We did, furthermore, a very large amount of work, early and late toward the relief of prisoners at Fort Leavenworth and in other military prisons and we did what could be done to secure amnesty for those who were suffering for conscience' sake. We also presented to the officials in charge of the S. A. T. C. (Students Army Training Corps) the attitude of the Friends Colleges and secured from the officials a positive approval of the consistent policy which fitted the ideals of these institutions, namely that they should continue to offer their usual courses of study. It should be said before closing this chapter that the business, so briefly sketched in it, took those of us who conducted it before a very large number of government officials and army officers. We always made our religious position as clear to them as was possible. Even in the most critical times we kept our central loyalty to our spiritual ideals in the foreground of all our efforts. No concealment of our

principles was ever thought of, nor was any conscious compromise ever allowed to color our statements. And yet we had the most polite and sympathetic treatment on every hand. Everybody seemed to *understand.* They met us with fair and open minds. Officers accustomed to command, and raised to a pinnacle of dignity, talked with us on a basis of easy freedom and allowed us to debate every point at will. When the board of inquiry made its first report in person to the War Department I was unexpectedly invited in with them and was allowed to hear all the details of their experiences in the camps and their reactions upon all matters concerning the C. O.'s. Whatever the officials with whom we dealt may have thought of war in general, they appeared to be glad that there was a group of Christians left in the world who still took Christ's way of life seriously and who in the face of grave difficulties were endeavoring to practice it.[1]

This will, perhaps, be the proper place to express an appreciation of the coöperation and fellowship of the Mennonites of the Old Order. Their young men stood the test of the camps with insight and with much bravery. They had the backing of their Church and they were conscious that they were its standard-bearers. They became closely united in fellowship with our men in the camps and they shared with them the desire to make a positive contribution in service abroad. Groups of Mennonites met many times with groups of Friends. We usually kept them informed of our movements and plans, and they finally decided to encourage their young men to volunteer for our work or to accept furloughs for it where opportunity of-

[1] I want particularly to mention with deep appreciation the names and Col. Herman. Captain Hough of Camp Sherman understood the C. O. problem more clearly than did any other officer with whom the boys had to deal.

fered. Nearly sixty of their members, thus, went abroad under our committee. They were excellent workers and they brought a fine spirit of devotion and coöperation to the mission. They merged with the Friends with a natural grace and we always thought of them as a part of ourselves. The Mennonites in every part of America contributed with liberality to the work, sending a total of more than two hundred thousand dollars. Representatives of this body met by invitation with us on the occasions of our general committee meetings and in a close and intimate way shared with us in the Mission of Love. They have taken a very noble part in the endeavor to rebuild the old waste places. They have also had a part in most of our other fields of labor.

CHAPTER X

IN PARIS AT THE CENTER

THE central office of our American Unit was in the Paris headquarters of the American Red Cross. In the early period this was at 4 Place de la Concorde and later in the Hotel Regina, Place de Rivoli. Charles Evans, as already indicated, was chief of our American Unit from the time of his arrival in Paris in September, 1917, until his return home in November, 1918, when he was succeeded by Charles J. Rhoads of Philadelphia, who had already for some time been associated with him in the Paris office. The importance of the leadership of these two men cannot well be overstated. They were gifted with insight; they entered intimately into all that concerned the life of all the members of the group; they knew how to work harmoniously in coöperation with the English Friends and at the same time with the Red Cross; they understood the French mind; they possessed unusual financial ability, and they shared and vitally expressed the ideals of the mission. They both made very great sacrifices when they went out to take up this work of ours, and they gave themselves unsparingly while they were there. I shall not often refer specifically to these men by name, but it can always be understood that they had an indispensable part in shaping the work in France. Joseph H. Haines was a very helpful assistant to the two Friends mentioned above, and he proved his ability and fine spirit throughout his period of service.

The Paris problems were always complicated. Every *équipe* of workers had its peculiar nest of difficulties. The chief of each *équipe* was elected by the workers who belonged to it, and within limits the little group was self-governing. But many of its problems were sure to filter in to Paris. Besides our American headquarters the united mission had another central headquarters which was at 53 Rue de Rivoli. Here were located the offices of the executive secretary, Wilfrid Shewell—a rare man with a fine level head—and the office of the treasurer, Ralph Elliott of England, and later Walter Bowerman of America, and here, too, centered many of the important activities of the mission. Many of the *équipe* problems were naturally dealt with at 53 Rue de Rivoli and many came to the American chief. There were many chances for friction and misunderstanding in the somewhat more than double-headed plan of management. But, as a matter of actual fact and practice, it worked well. It worked well just because the persons who were charged with the management were of the broad, understanding type, untrammeled by red tape and narrow officialism, and ready to *see* what was the best way to handle each individual case as it arose. Sometimes 53 Rue de Rivoli would take a matter of adjustment in hand and sometimes it would be done by the American office, and whenever one of the two leaders worked out the solution, the staff of the other office regarded it as though done by itself. Once more, and that, too, in matters where efficiency was a prime requisite the Friendly method of doing things worked well and brought excellent results.

It was somewhat similar also with the two home bases of management. The American Service Committee in Philadelphia and the War Victims Committee in London might easily have been at loggerheads much of the time.

Both were directing and financing the same work. To each belonged the selection and care of its own body of workers. Each committee was autonomous and was absorbed with its own peculiar tasks, and yet, with three thousand miles of ocean between them and despite the fact that their two bands of workers were merged into a single Mission in a country remote from either base, the work ran smoothly and the relations remained close, intimate and friendly. This happy issue was in good measure due to the *spirit* which infused the whole undertaking, and to the peculiar fitness of the heads of the Paris group where the complications and acute situations had to be threshed out and settled. It is a good rule that *the right person should always be chosen to head any important undertaking!*

Besides the division of the workers in the Mission into a multitude of local self-governing *équipes* the forces were also divided into differentiated departments, each with its department-head. At first the main interest had been medical and then secondly relief for suffering refugees, but by the time we Americans entered the Mission reconstruction of villages had become a very prominent feature. In the period of joint work the departments of the Service were Medical, Building, Works, Manufacturing, Agriculture and Relief.[1] These six types of service involved also a transport department, a department of maintenance and one of equipment. I shall not find it possible to deal at length with the departments which ministered primarily to the Mission itself, but it should be understood by the reader that these departments were absolutely essential to the existence of the Mission and to the efficiency of the work. It was not by any means a small matter to keep this large

[1] At a later period, as we shall see, there was a Department of Purchase and Sales.

body of workers fed, clothed and supplied with the material by which they did their work. Motor transport was, too, a vital factor. The men and women who drove cars, trucks and lorries were as close to the heart of the Mission as were any of the star workers. Their contribution made all other forms of contribution possible.

Manufacturing, works and building were of course closely affiliated. The first had to do with the direction and operation of the two house building factories at Dôle and Ornans, of which more will be said in due time. "Works" had to do with the work of preparing buildings to house the *équipes* and all forms of work which had to do with building and repair for the Mission itself. The building department had oversight of the actual construction of the villages in which the houses made by the manufacturing department, or otherwise secured, were put up. These departments through their chief made reports at each meeting of the Paris Executive Committee when a budget for the coming month of work was made up, and the work of co-operation was guided both by these meetings and by the unifying agency of the Executive Secretary and his staff. The Paris Executive Committee was a very interesting representative body. Its meetings generally lasted for two days and enabled all who attended them to get and to keep a pretty firm grasp of the entire field of work.

As soon as we had a fair prospect of receiving a large group of furloughed men for work abroad we began to work out a plan for a second unit of American workers. The Red Cross, which was in great need of workers in France for its civilian activities, agreed to cover the expenses of the men in Unit No. 2, but they were still to remain under our care and oversight. It was essential that we should secure a good, wise understanding man as

the responsible head of this new group. We chose William C. Biddle of New York who, like all our other leaders, gave up much that held him here when he went forth to the work, and he, too, made a very important contribution to the success of the work. This second Unit was not merged with the English Friends, though the members of it were in close and intimate relations with the Mission. Their experiences had prepared them in a peculiar way for service and they were penetrated with the spirit and with the ideals of the Friends. They formed a "flying corps" of efficient men, ready for almost any service which the Red Cross needed to have accomplished. Groups of these men constructed hospitals and equipped them, built barracks for tuberculous patients, took charge of expositions of methods for the care and welfare of little children, assisted in the relief of prisoners, took part in the work to ease the condition of persons who had gone insane during the war, and in numerous other ways contributed to the extension of hospital work. Sometimes workers who were originally a part of Unit No. 1 were "loaned" to the Red Cross for definite pieces of work. In cases of this type they might be transferred to Unit No. 2 or they might, for the "loaned" period, become regular members of the Red Cross force, according to circumstances.

Lewis S. Gannett, one of the members of the original Haverford Unit, has written a vivid account of some of the forms of service performed by these men:

"The first call for man-power came from Toul, where the Red Cross was trying to turn the barracks of a military school into a healthy and happy home for some 500 refugee children under eight years of age, who had been sent away from their mothers in the frontier villages because there was continual danger of gas attacks. In connection with the refuge a hospital was estab-

lished for the civilians of frontier Lorraine who had been without adequate medical care since their doctors were mobilized in 1914. To this hospital six men were sent. They did odd jobs of carpentry, installed a playground and carpenter shop for the children, and finished a hundred and one other bits of work which the doctors and nurses had not been able to get done. When Nancy came under heavy bombardment by long-range cannon and air-bombs, word came to Toul that the Nancy maternity hospital would have to be transferred to the barracks on a few hours' notice; the heads of the hospital give eloquent testimony to the work which the Quakers did in scrubbing the disused building, putting up beds, and making the other necessary preparations. Two hours after the Toul *Maternité* was opened its first baby came into the world.

"Then came the work at Château Hachette. When that extensive property with an unusually beautiful park, was offered to the English Friends for tuberculosis refugees, they realized that it probably should be considered in the general scheme of tuberculosis work which the Red Cross and the Rockefeller Commission for the Prevention of Tuberculosis were undertaking, and they referred it to the former organization. In November the Red Cross obtained the use of the estate, rent free, and six weeks later, on Christmas day, the first patients were received. In the interim every American Friend who was delayed at Paris waiting for passes had been working hard under the direction of Haldane Robinson, one of the English Friends, to finish the papering, plastering, carpentry, plumbing, glazing, and painting necessary to turn an *orangerie* into a ward, an outbuilding into a children's pavilion, a château into a modern hospital. The work at Hachette kept up all through the winter and at one time or another almost every one had a hand in it.

"In the spring the Red Cross began an extensive experiment on an estate a short distance from Hachette—the building of a village of portable houses to care for refugee families in which there are one or more tuberculosis members. The 'village' will have a house for each family, a store, playground, baths, and,

of course, quarters for the doctors and nurses who will supervise the whole so that the sick may become better and the well escape the infection. After the war each family can take its portable house back to its devastated village in the war zone. This village, together with the Hachette estate, go under the general name of the Edward L. Trudeau Sanatorium, in memory of the great American tuberculosis expert who was of French parentage. Charles Parnell and Ralph Whitely are at work in the sanatorium proper as orderlies, and some thirty-five Friends are building the village,—Robinson, and Reginald Dann, of the English Friends, Frank Cholerton, of the American Friends Unit No. 1, and thirty-two members of Unit No. 2, the body of Americans brought over at the request of the Red Cross to do the more extensive pieces of Red Cross work for which sufficient men could not be taken from the regular Friends *équipes*. Early last autumn one worker was borrowed by the Red Cross to assist in organizing a special factory for the manufacture of artificial limbs for French war cripples; two others were lent for editorial work in which they had special experience; another was assigned as an assistant in the organization of an agricultural training center for French war cripples.

"Two men have gone to assist the *mutilé* farm, and the chief of the Bureau for the Re-education of Mutilés is clamoring for three more men. Another helper will probably be assigned to run a dairy farm at La Chaux, near Lyons, where the Red Cross has a convalescent camp for several hundred Paris and Lyons slum children.

"In November some six hundred children from occupied Belgium, sickly and under-nourished, were sent to France, through Switzerland, to be cared for in a refuge established in a former Chartreuse monastery at Le Glandier under the joint auspices of the Queen of the Belgians and the Red Cross. Two English Friends and two Americans were sent to teach the boys healthy American games, to organize Boy Scout troops, and do anything else that might be asked of them. These Belgian children came from Liège, a factory city of coal and iron; they did not know

how to play: apparently they never had known or had forgotten under the rigors of three years of German rule; and they felt strange and homesick in the country. The success of the Friends in helping to make them normally vigorous and happy children is attested by request for more such workers which the Queen's representative in charge of the school made to the Friends.

"A baby saving exhibit was opened by the Red Cross at Lyons on April 9th, and attracted 173,000 visitors in the three weeks of its existence. Half-a-dozen of our workers helped arrange exhibits, put up signs, gave out literature, played football with the boys in its model playgrounds, and did other odd jobs. In June they went on with the exposition to Marseilles. Five workers were assigned to help in the permanent playgrounds established at Lyons. Some of these two groups of men will be detailed to the convalescent camp at La Chaux, near Lyons, to erect the wooden barracks which are to increase the capacity of the camp by several hundred children.

"The German offensive in March brought emergencies in which every member of the war zone *équipes* was called upon to play special parts; and as the aftermath of that work, several specially trained members of the units have continued in Red Cross work for these refugees. A group of Friends went to Eaux Bonnes in the Pyrenees to help care for some hundreds of *evacués* driven from their homes in the Somme before the German advance. Eaux Bonnes has since become a regular Friends' *équipe*.

"When the German offensive in late May drove thousands of homeless folk from their villages in the Aisne and the Marne, the Red Cross turned to the Friends for aid in managing the very critical situation which it produced in the Aube, just south of the invaded or threatened country. Dorothy North, who has been a member of the relief *équipe* at Troyes since last autumn, has been appointed to the important position of delegate for the Red Cross Bureau of Refugees at that strategic point, where her knowledge of the conditions and the work will be especially valuable.

"One of the latest requests, also from the Bureau of Refugees,

was for workers at Evian, where hundreds of *rapatriés*, returned to France by the German authorities, enter the country at the Swiss frontier. Three men have gone to take charge of a canteen where the thirsty travellers can get lemonade and other sweet drinks after their long and uncomfortable journey. Another worker has been detailed to drive an automobile for the Shurtleff Memorial Fund, one of the excellent Paris charities for refugees with which the Red Cross works in close coöperation.

"In the recent rush of weary refugees through the Paris stations, as many as thirty-five or forty Friends have been on duty some days, or some nights, carrying luggage, washing dishes in the emergency canteens, giving medical aid, befriending the unhappy people forced from their homes. A. C. Holliday heroically donned an apron and has been cooking in an improvised kitchen seven days a week, many hours a day, making the cocoa, coffee and hot soup that are given to the hundreds of travellers at that station before they pass on.

"Without the Friends the Red Cross probably could not have undertaken its great tuberculosis center at Hachette and the model village which is unique in medical history; in other enterprises they have given the all-essential aid, usually unromantic hard manual work, which has pushed the venture through to success. These accomplishments are marked up to the credit of the Friends in the memories of the Red Cross officials in Paris and of the directors of the institutions to whose aid they have come; but it is well that the Friends at home also should know how well many uninteresting but all-essential tasks have been done and how readily emergencies have been met. 'Quakers proving invaluable' was the verdict sent by Edward Eyre Hunt, Red Cross head of the emergency relief for civilians, in the battle of Picardy, and he is not alone in his judgment."

Another one of our workers has given an impressive account of the scene of work among the refugees at Evian-les-Bains:

"Many of the refugees were sent home into France, via Switzerland, in huge convoys and arrived at Evian-les-Bains on the French shore of Lake Geneva. When the frontier was open two special trains brought in some 1,300 of these forlorn and destitute people daily. I shall never forget the sight of one of these convoy trains coming in. A French band played the national airs to welcome them and the people peered from the car windows, many of them like dazed and terrified animals. Some were weeping, others were singing, shouting, clapping and cheering, and some were silent and expressionless. They were pale, tired, thin and worn, and entire strangers all of them in that section of their fatherland. Some were incurably ill and had come home to die, some were on stretchers, some on crutches. It was the moment they had been longing for for four long years—the moment of home-coming—and yet it was not home, and they were separated from all who were near and dear to them. They trudged through the town to the big casino where the *Service de Rapatriement* handled this throng of people with wonderful efficiency. It was splendidly organized. There were great pavilions of baths and all of the people had shower baths, and had their clothes fumigated. They then had supper or breakfast, as the case might be, in the huge auditorium. The band played and the *préfet* or mayor made a stirring speech of welcome and recounted to them all their hardships till every face was bathed in tears. Next they proceeded to the registration bureau where they tried to learn some news of their families whom they had lost all trace of for three or four years. And here they heard both welcome and tragic news. I have never seen a sadder sight. One felt that one should not be there and one could not gaze upon their sorrow.

"After that they were ushered into the social service department and their financial condition was inquired into and those who were penniless were given a few francs by the government to last them a week or so. They next had a medical examination. Those who were very ill were sent to hospitals, those who were

fit were allocated to go to various towns in the interior of France to there take up their life anew, and those who were convalescent or very markedly below par were allotted to institutions like the one at Samoëns (to be described in a later chapter).

"And so the throng passed, like cattle, from one department to another and finally all were labelled to go to certain hotels in Evian until time for their trains to depart, and were supplied with railway tickets with no choice in the matter as to where they were to go. They remained in Evian from 24 to 48 hours and were housed in hotels like sardines in a box."

Paul Elliott wrote thus of the Child-welfare exposition: "The exposition was taken very seriously. Mothers and fathers brought their children by the hundreds to be examined by the doctors. Every day many more applied for numbers designating their turn with the various doctors for examination than could possibly be examined. Mothers read and kept for reference the literature which was given them as they left the exposition. It dealt with babies' health and care; feeding of children; care of teeth; prevention of tuberculosis, and many other things."

Christopher Roberts, a Haverford student who volunteered for work in Unit No. 2, gave a glimpse in one of his letters of the fine help these men gave to the *rapatriés* as they came in from their awful experiences behind the lines. He says:

"Our work was a case of necessity as there was no provision whatever for feeding them otherwise. Fortunately we had the provisions. The word came at six in the evening, and by dint of staying up nearly all night, we were prepared at six the next morning to give breakfast to 600 and to give the same 600 each a package of food to take with him. The same thing occurred two days later when a train load of 650 insane people came in with only a few hours' warning. At the expiration of the two hours,

each of the 650 insane persons was provided with a lunch done up for the trip.

"On Sunday a train of 500 civil prisoners arrived at Evian as the result of an exchange arrangement. These were largely the notables of the cities or the most influential citizens of the villages of Northern France. They had been taken as hostages by the Germans, ostensibly as an insurance of the treatment of the civilians of Alsace made prisoners by the French. The conditions under which these people have been living for the past four years have been very severe. Many of them are those of comfortable circumstances before the war and they have felt very keenly the privations and suffering to which they have been subjected."

It became necessary, of course, to have a home for the men of Unit No. 2 when they were in Paris, as they occasionally were while being shifted from one piece of work to another. It was important, too, to have a home for the new men when they arrived from America, an abiding place while they were making arrangements for their field of service. For this purpose the Hostel of the Women Students attending the University of Paris was taken over, located at 93 Boulevard St. Michel. It was admirably suited to be a home for our men and here they gathered from all parts of America, Friends, Mennonites, and many others. To those who had been through the ordeal of the camps it seemed a haven of peace and joy. To everybody it became a home.

Josiah Marvel of Richmond, Indiana, an Earlham graduate, was put in charge of this hostel and at once revealed marked capacity for his interesting work. He took a real interest in all the men. He was not only provider, entertainer, and host, but, more than that, a friend to all who came to the Hostel. William C. Biddle lived with the men

in the Hostel and entered into all that concerned not only their work but their life as well. Lillie F. Rhoads (Mrs. Charles J. Rhoads) and her cousin, Anita Bliss, of New York, came nearly every day to the Hostel, usually in time to serve afternoon tea to the men who could be there. They looked after their mending and in a multitude of ways they brought a beautiful atmosphere of home and fellowship to the Hostel. Hither came the little groups of men as they arrived from America, and from here was made the departure of those who returned to America during the period covered by the lease of the Hostel; here were held the Sunday evening meetings for the group of Friends in Paris, and here, again, were celebrated many occasions both of joy and sorrow which touched the lives of individuals and groups. Here in the Hostel in January, 1919, was held the first session of the continental monthly meeting, established by the authority of the London Meeting for Sufferings, and consisting of the Friends composing the Mission and others who wished to join in fellowship with them. Soon after the signing of the armistice and the closing of the work of the Red Cross, the men in Unit No. 2 were absorbed into the Mission.

Besides the Hostel there was another famous living center for the workers, the Hotel Britannique in Rue Victoria. This far outdated the Hostel, having been in operation long before our American workers began to arrive. It was for both men and women who belonged to the Mission and was managed by the Mission itself. At different times the chief housekeeper of the Britannique was selected from the list of American women in the Unit, though more usually the *ménage* was in care of an English Friend. The group living at the Britannique was composed of men and women from both countries, with an occasional Canadian or Aus-

tralian added for good measure. When the Hostel was not in operation meetings were held at the Britannique, and here, likewise, many passing events and occasions of interest took place. The Hotel Britannique will always be a center crowded with memories for all members of the Mission, and both centers played an important rôle in the history of our work.

As I have said, there were times of sorrow as well as of joy, and it should be added there were many times of anxiety and suspense. For months Paris was a sphere of constant danger. Our workers who were in Paris in periods of bombardment or air-raids, lived night and day exposed to bomb and shell. The Hostel was leased to us because the students had felt forced to vacate it and to go to places of safety. No one ever knew when one of the death-dealing missiles might cleave through one of our homes, but we have cause for great thanksgiving that no member of the Mission was struck down by the weapons from the skies. More dangerous still was the pestilence in the form of influenza. This invaded all centers and brought many of our workers to a condition of gravity. There were days of anxious watching, and a few of the beloved fellowship were taken away into the silence. Walter Carrol Brinton, a fine devoted youth, well-equipped, full of promise and with a year of splendid service behind him, was taken from the group in the Château Hospital at Sermaize. Ezra Moore, of North Carolina, was stricken down just as he was sailing for home from Brest. Earlier in the history of our work, before the influenza came, another member was suddenly taken from us through an automobile accident which endangered other lives also. This was Daniel Arthur Compton of Plainfield, New Jersey. He was one of the original Haverford Unit, a bright, happy spirit, an excellent influence, and a

member who was greatly missed when the sad event removed him from the fellowship. Others who are happily still left to complete their career had narrow escapes and passed through close crises. A few of the men will always bear the marks of injuries received. Some came into too close contact with the revolving saws or with the planer and some suffered from the explosives left behind by the armies on the fields where they worked. While our sympathy is abundant for those who had to pass through hard experiences, we must feel at the same time deep thanksgiving that the catastrophes were so few and that so many out of the large force of workers came through unscathed.

All told, the American working force that came into Paris and was sifted out for the various types of work in the outlying zones amounted to six hundred persons. Of these about five hundred and fifty were men and slightly over fifty were women. It seems an unfair proportion, but it must be remembered that the work in the main was agriculture and reconstruction, and secondly that the young men who were of draft age were eager to find service abroad where they could reveal by deeds of love the spirit which was in them, and they naturally received especial attention on the part of the Service Committee. We always sent, however, all the women workers for whom we received calls from Paris and for whom they had openings for service. It was a definite policy that no woman should go into that maelstrom unless there was positive evidence that her skillful hands were needed and that she could do something far more important in France than she could in America.

It was my good fortune to visit all the *équipes* in the winter of 1918-1919. My first concern was to note the morale of the workers, to discover what spirit animated them

and to see what effect the months of work had had upon their lives. The impression which I formed was expressed as follows: "I find our workers much deepened in life and character. They have lived in a world full of difficulties, and they have had temptations of an unusual sort, but they are beyond question stronger and better persons because of their experiences. They almost never talk about themselves. They do not analyze what has been happening within themselves. They do not talk either about their growth in spirit or about their enlarged vision. They focus their attention on their work and they are for the most part unconscious about their 'insides,' like those people in the parable of the great surprise, who asked, with perfect simplicity, 'When saw we thee hungry and fed thee, or thirsty and gave thee drink, or when saw we thee naked and clothed thee, sick or in prison and visited thee!'

"I saw, however, in man after man, and woman after woman, an increased depth of life, a richer nature and a more dedicated spirit. They have found themselves. They have discovered how to get out of their more or less self-centered lives and to make themselves instruments of real service to others and transmitters of a spirit of love. Some of them went over before they quite knew their own minds. They were confronted by a situation unlike any they had ever met before. They were patriotic, full of love for their country, and solidly opposed to that spirit of ruthlessness which had destroyed Belgium and carried such awful havoc into the prosperous towns of Northern France. But they were at the same time sincerely and profoundly opposed to the entire method of war. They had never thought out their faith and conviction. They held it as they held many other deep-seated religious views and positions that had come into their lives almost with their mother's milk. They

had always assumed that these truths were so, but they did not know why they were so. They could not give a reason for the faith that was in them. Suddenly they found themselves face to face with the most momentous issues of life. They had to decide where they would stand, and the choice forced them down to the deepest roots of their being.

"Many of those who volunteered for the service of love in France did it because they felt in their souls that they could not do otherwise. They could not run counter to the faith that had slowly been formed within them. There were others, however, who did not see their way as clearly or as surely as that. They only knew that they hated war and wanted to avoid having any direct share in it if possible. The service in France was to them a way out of the stern dilemma and they took it without thinking out the main problem or settling the central issue. A few of them soon found that they were not in their right place, and they changed over to other types of service. Most of them, on the other hand, living near neighbors to the horrors of war, thought through the entire moral problem and re-formed their faith on a higher level and deepened their conviction with first hand positive insight.

"The arrival of groups of men who had stood the long, hard tests of the army camps, the court martial, the guard house, the prison at Leavenworth or Riley, brought into the *équipes* a fresh, new energy of faith and had the effect of raising the level and morale of the whole body of workers. There may still be wavering individuals and there may be here and there a man who had stayed on in France because it was the line of least resistance. But if such are there, I did not discover them. I found men of genuine faith and conviction who were working out with head and hands and heart the clear insight which their experience had formed

within them. They went over immature and inarticulate; they are coming back men who have been tested in the fire and are now, as the steel-makers say, 'bloom-furnaced.'

"They are too, I think, equally clarified and deepened in their religious experience. It is never possible to verify sweeping conclusions and in any case religion is an affair of the individual soul and not of groups and bunches of people taken in the mass. I can only say that I talked with many who have been drawing closer to God for strength and power, and who have been learning far from home and friends and early influences, that love has no frontiers and that it works even when no other method does."

With this brief review of the methods of organization and conditions of life and work in Paris, we are now ready to turn to the concrete tasks in the working zones where the Mission has had its fields of operation.

CHAPTER XI

MEDICAL WORK

THE health condition of the civilian population in the devastated areas of France was appalling and became ever more serious as year by year the tragedy accumulated. Everything was done that could be done to give prompt care and attention to the wounds and illnesses of the soldiers, but so enormous were the tasks and problems to be grappled with that the suffering peasants and the diseased and dying children were overlooked. Every wrecked village had its long tale of woes. Under-feeding brought, as it always does, its terrible toll of ills which were vastly increased because the local doctor was no longer there to help. It was natural and right, therefore, that Friends should provide, from the first days of their work of relief, for the medical and surgical care of the civilians left in the wake of the great tornado of war. The English Friends, at every point of their work, showed fine humanitarian instinct joined with much wisdom. They got straight at the central needs of the situation and blazed the road in precisely the right place. When we merged with them in the autumn of 1917 we found ourselves connected with a very efficiently organized method of relief in full operation, with a splendid system of hospitals for various types of cases.

The most impressive single center in the hospital system at that time was the Maternity Hospital at Châlons-sur Marne. This had been established in the awful days of chaos immediately after the first Battle of the Marne. No

other form of relief seemed at this time more urgent than that of providing a quiet retreat and skillful helpers for expectant mothers whose homes had been crushed like an egg-shell and who were in many instances shelterless and desolate. Dr. Hilda Clark of England was the leader in this merciful plan of assistance. Edith M. Pye, a nurse of large experience and rare skill, and a woman of fine qualities of character and ability, became the head of this home for mothers and little children. A number of our American workers were joined to the Maternity Hospital staff and became closely identified with its work. The importance of Châlons as a city and its position as a railway center exposed it to furious bombardments. It was shelled both from long range guns and from the sky. Many a child came into the world in this place of "nativity" at Châlons amid the din of explosives and was greeted with noises which drowned its cries of surprise and wonder. In the late summer of 1918 the danger from shells became too great to be endured longer. It appeared necessary to "evacuate" and go to a safer retreat. Already eight hundred babies had been born there. The institution had grown to considerable size. Besides the building occupied by the "Maternity" there was a separate home for the nurses. Three houses adjoining one another and not far distant from the hospital were used as a crêche for the little ones. There was much to move besides the mothers and babies, but the motor lorries effected the evacuation without mishap. The new home selected for the hospital was at Méry about forty miles from Châlons, and four cars full were moved the first day. One baby was born the first evening at Méry, out of range of the guns and noise. Every hour the danger at Châlons was increasing. Miss Pye's account of what followed is interesting. She wrote as follows:

"It had been arranged for all the cars except one to return to Châlons for the night. This was fortunate, as the offensive started at midnight; and when the shells from the long-range gun began to fall in the fields surrounding the Maternity, the few remaining babies and children, who were to have been sent down the next day, were packed into the cars and sent off at once, arriving at Méry about 6 A. M., with the exception of one mother whose baby was born during the night. She was taken down during the course of the day. The chauffeurs were driving or seeing to their cars continuously from 7 A. M. on Sunday till late Monday evening, without an hour's rest and very little time for meals.

"The shelling from long-range guns continued all day on Monday and up till 4 A. M. on Tuesday, the shells bursting all around the Maternity. Very little actual damage was done by them, though the explosions were objectionably noisy.

"On Monday night the first air raid took place, lasting about two hours. During this, another baby was born whose mother had not been fit to send on Monday. Early Tuesday morning the cars took this mother and two others with new-born babies from the town down to safety. On Tuesday night a squadron started bombing at 10 P. M. and went on till midnight, again from 2 A. M. to 2:30, and from 3 A. M. to 3:30. A near-by hospital was badly wrecked, and the one patient who had not yet been evacuated was taken through to St. Dizier by our car on Wednesday. The group of hospitals on the other side of the Maternity had one or two bombs in their grounds.

"It was obvious that a *'poste de secours'* at the Maternity was no longer suitable for mothers, as it was in such a dangerous position, and the Prefecture was very glad to help us to obtain a little enclosure in one of the big champagne caves under the Côte de Troyes, above which are eighteen metres of earth. Notice was given to the police, the Mairie, the Square and to the other caves that a *poste de secours* would be found there every night during the full moon, and all expressed themselves as apprecia-

tive of the arrangement. This means taking all outfit down about 8:30 P. M. and remaining there till between 3 and 4 A. M.

Wednesday night a baby was born in the cave. The mother and baby were sent down to Méry the next day, and are doing extremely well. On Thursday night a torpedo fell in the field at about twenty metres from the Maternity. Every window in the building save two was broken, and the tiles removed or broken from about half the roof. Dr. Heard, who was sleeping that night in her baraque, had a marvelous escape, and has fortunately not suffered in any way.

"Fortunately all the valuable material had been brought away from the 'grenier,' and thanks to the loan of a motor-lorry by the American canteen, we were able to send another load to Méry at once. For a couple of days it was possible to remain in the damaged building, as the weather was fine; but when rain began it was obviously impossible, as there was no dry spot. The *équipe* has therefore removed into the children's home, where two wards with three beds for emergency work have been installed. Volunteers from the staff at Méry take turns at present in coming up to Châlons, where the main work at present consists in trying to clear up the mess at the Maternity and save the remainder of the stock, and in arranging for the transport of patients to Méry. The cars are continually in demand for fetching sick and wounded into Châlons, as well as for the transport of our own mothers."

As soon as the danger from shells had passed the return to Châlons was undertaken with much joy and the procession of lorries carried mothers and babies back to the old headquarters. Here expectant mothers continued to come through the winter following the armistice and at the time of my visit in January, 1919, about eleven hundred babies had been born in the Maternity, their mothers had found care, skill and love for their emergency and scores of little orphans had been carefully tended in the adjoining crêche.

Letters that only Frenchwomen could write come in from past patients—letters written with a grace and delicate humor typical of the race. "I know my Laurette is happy with you," wrote one mother. "One sees that all those children do very well, for your nurses are very gentle and very simple, too. They do not wear shoes with Louix XV heels, like the nurses at Rheims." Another mother wrote that she was very sorry her daughter was too young to enter the hospital and train to become a nurse like the other ladies there. The daughter was then six months old.

"Ma chère bonne Misspaille," wrote another, thoroughly Gallicizing Miss Pye's name. "I am sending you two words to tell you that I am sending you a little package with two dozen fresh eggs for the sick children. I am not rich, but I can send you some eggs." That was after baby Georges had gone home. Two months earlier, when the news of Georges' arrival had just reached the farm, his sister Zelpha wrote, "I am sending you a little letter to thank you for the care you have given Mamma. My little brothers and sisters thank you, too, for Mamma tells us she is very happy with you, and that she is better cared for with you than at home, because there is more to eat with you than here at home. (Signed) A little girl who sends love to you. Zelpha."

The "Maternity" has since been endowed by Friends, put under the care of an international committee and made, we hope, a permanent blessing for this section of the Marne Valley. There were two clinics for children connected with the medical center at Châlons, one at St. Remy and the other at Vitry. Dr. Heard, an American woman, who went to France under the Red Cross and who was on the staff of the Châlons "Maternity" was, during the later period of the work, in charge of both these clinics. The

children's Home at St. Remy was in a large Château and was a splendid work of relief.

A remarkable medical mission of a different type had its center at Samoëns in the Haute Savoie, near the Italian and Swiss border, close to Chamonix. Here in the Hotel Bellevue and its Annex Friends maintained a beautiful convalescent home for broken refugees and *rapatriées,* i. e. for women and children. They were taken from crowded quarters in Paris or from the mass of *rapatriées* at Evian in a debilitated condition, unable to recover health, strength or spirits. In the glorious air of this Alpine home, with the best of care and in an atmosphere of love they underwent a great transformation. The place did not have the air of an institution at all, it was of the nature of a big family. Every one—housekeeper, nurses and teachers—all knew all the patients and all lived in happy fellowship. The girl refugees arrived there haggard, pale, hunted looking and very quickly were transformed into rosy, happy looking persons. No one asked about the tragedies of the past and the refugees themselves seldom referred to their experiences; they let the dead past lie buried and turned toward life once more. The changes in health and spirit were so striking that it seemed almost like a center of miracles. Large bands of children came to Samoëns also; twenty-two came at one time from the baby institution at St. Remy. These babies lived a most happy life in the sun and air, fed plenteously upon the food their little natures needed. This institution was organized by Miss Rhys of England as Directress, assisted by Dr. Martin of America. Here a member of our American Unit, Dr. Marianna Taylor of St. Davids, Pennsylvania, had an important part in the work of this convalescent home from April, 1918, to October of the same year, when she went to be head of the Hospital

at Bettancourt in the Marne, of which we shall hear later. A sanitarium for tuberculous patients was carried on by the Mission for some time at Entremont where many cases were brought back to normal health. A medical center was maintained for refugees at Dôle, in Jura where one of the largest bands of our workers was engaged in building portable houses and a clinical center for refugees was in operation for a considerable period in Paris, connected with the Britannique.

The most extensive hospital work, however, was carried on by the Mission in the Marne district and later in "the Verdun area." A small hospital was opened at Sermaize by the English Friends soon after their work began. This was called the "Source Hospital," from the famous spring located at Sermaize. Though it was never well housed and had only limited quarters it did a great service for the distressed region of country around it. Here Doctor Earp rendered a signal service. Here, too, Miss Evans and Miss Friend, two remarkable English nurses, did signal service. It was felt, however that there was a far greater medical and surgical work to be done in the neighborhood and when Dr. James A. Babbitt, who had gone over with the Haverford Unit, was free to undertake the task, he was asked to create a hospital out of the Château at Sermaize, on the opposite side of the destroyed town from "the Source," where our Marne headquarters were and where the other hospital already mentioned was situated.

Dr. Babbitt arrived at the Château at the end of November, 1917, and with a group of splendid helpers—such men as Ralston Thomas, Francis Sharpless, Hugh McKinstry, Weston Howland and Robert James—and with a very efficient house-keeper, Miss Kerr, he flung himself, with his usual energy, into the task of transforming the Château,



Château Hospital—Sermaize

which had suffered somewhat from the invasion, into a thoroughly modern hospital. The work went forward with great strides. Our expert electrician and general efficiency man, Leslie Heath, was called upon to install lights, which he did with marked success. Patients began to come almost before there were beds and as soon as there was an operating table to use, Dr. Babbitt began his surgical work. The list of cases on which he operated is an amazing one. Very quickly the fame of this kindly, skillful doctor spread through the region and he found himself from the first an unspeakably busy man. His Ford car took him to outlying villages within a very wide area, where he visited individual patients or held village clinics, and when necessary the Château ambulance brought the cases in for treatment in that Hospital.

The number of beds kept steadily increasing and so also did the number of nurses, who were under Sara Cunningham of Philadelphia, a most efficient head-nurse. The Hospital reached its highest capacity about the time of the Armistice when it had a hundred beds and about seventy-five patients. The total number of operations performed was about twelve hundred. Out of this number less than twenty died. These operations covered a very wide range of ills. There were over forty successful appendix operations, over eighty for radical hernia, a number for goitre, several for mastoid and some for cataract, though these latter were not always successful on account of the long neglected condition of the sufferer and the resulting degeneration of the affected organs. The affection of the patients for Dr. Babbitt was very marked and before he had been long engaged in his work of mercy the appreciation in which he was held by the people of the district was touching to see.

One sample of the numerous testimonials of loving appreciation may be given here. It is from the Curé of Brizeaux who was treated in the Château Hospital. He wrote as follows on his return home:

"DEAR DOCTOR: It is now a week since you kindly conveyed me home after a period of 47 days in your hospital, during which time I was surrounded by every care. I am afraid I am late in expressing my heartfelt gratitude and my affectionate thanks: I can do so from the depths of my heart, remembering your great care for me and the constant nursing attention given by the members of your staff—particularly those attached to the men's ward.

"One leaves the hospitable roof of the 'Society of Christian Friends' (which so well bears out its name) with regret, even though one is anxious to get back home. It is good to be near you! The Bishop of Verdun has been much touched by all your kindness to me and asks me to hand to you in his name the modest sum enclosed (100 francs); &c.,

"E. CLAUDE."

During the spring and summer of 1918 all the medical work of the Mission was under the care of a committee of three, consisting of Dr. Babbitt as chairman, Dr. Earp and Edith Pye. In October of that year Dr. Babbitt was appointed head of the medical department with the oversight of all the hospital and clinical work of the Mission. This position of responsibility added considerably to the doctor's already heavy load, but he carried it successfully and made important reports to all the regular meetings of the Executive Committee. In the near neighborhood of Sermaize there were two interesting medical centers, one at Charmont where was situated a home for elderly women (to be spoken of further in the chapter on Relief) and a station at Givry-en-Argonne where a trained nurse was stationed with a good

dispensary. At Bar-le-Duc an important medical center was maintained in connection with the Relief station situated there. About seven miles from Sermaize, in the Château of Bettancourt, a large and successful hospital was maintained mainly for women and children, where Gertrude Pim did pioneer work. Dr. Marianna Taylor of our American group took charge of this hospital in November, 1918, and continued her excellent services at Bettancourt until the hospital closed in May, 1919. During this period Dr. Taylor attended to the medical cases in twenty outlying villages, which she usually visited by motorcycle. When Dr. Babbitt resigned from the Mission in January, 1919, to join the Red Cross Commission, appointed to carry relief to the Russian prisoners stranded in Germany, Dr. Taylor was selected to be his successor as head of the medical department, which at that time was reorganizing the hospital work and the medical and surgical relief for the new district—the "Verdun area," where our main work lay for the year 1919. At the same time Dr. Jesse Packer, who had been Dr. Babbitt's assistant at the Château Hospital, became his successor as head of the new hospital which took its place, the Château being re-occupied by its owner in January, 1919. This new hospital was at Brizeaux in the southern part of the district which I have called the "Verdun area." It was opened in the barracks which had formerly been used for a hospital by the American army. Much of the furnishings and material which had been employed at the Château were moved in lorries by members of the Mission to the new site, while Leslie Heath re-installed the electric light system, transported from Sermaize.

Dr. Packer was soon joined by Dr. Stephens from Marion, Indiana, who was a very ready, skillful surgeon and who found, as Dr. Babbitt had done, plenty of opportunity to

employ his skill. The new Brizeaux Hospital covered a very wide territory, reaching even as far as Rheims, ministering mainly to the great host of returning refugees, coming at length to their own villages, which our men had supplied with portable houses. By middle summer the hospital moved once more further north, this time to the central town of the area, Clermont-en-Argonne. The hospital was now installed in the spacious structure which had long served as a hospital for the region and which had formerly been maintained by Roman Catholic Sisters. The war had forced them away. During the period of American occupation and while the fighting was going forward in the Argonne this ancient hospital had been used as headquarters of the American army. It was left, after the advance and transfer of the army, in a decidedly "fallen" state. The rooms had been hastily stripped and they were strewn with rubbish and accumulated débris. The building was overrun with rats, as were all buildings of the region, but the possibilities of the place were at once obvious and the surroundings were by nature very beautiful. The workers in the Mission, already accustomed to do impossible tasks, undertook to cleanse this augean stable and to make it pure, clean, beautiful and fit for the troops of patients who were sure to come to it. They did their work well. No sign remained of the former desolation. The rats were eliminated. An atmosphere of home was soon to be given to the place and once more as in the past it was to become the scene of gentle, loving ministration. The lorries again moved the furnishings which had served the Château and Brizeaux and with some new material and supplies the Clermont Hospital was well equipped. It was intended from the beginning to have this a permanent hospital. The Committee proposed to fit it

out so that it could serve the entire area under our reconstruction, until our medical work was no longer needed and then they planned that it should be turned over with all the installed equipment to the Sisters. This has since been done. Both Dr. Packer and Dr. Stephens have returned to America with their splendid work accomplished and Clermont now has its fine Hospital—a source of love and healing, let us hope, for many years to come. Dr. Alethea J. Bolton was the head of the medical department of the Mission during the closing of the French work.

An extensive amount of dental work was also carried on, especially during 1919. The long period of neglect had reduced the health of both old and young to a serious condition, entailing much suffering. Dr. Matteson, an English dentist, did an immense service in this field, going out in his car over a wide area and helping thousands of persons. Dr. Maris and Dr. Dorland of the American Unit brought relief and comfort to a large number of people. Dr. Maris treated five hundred members of the Mission, over eight hundred French people and about two hundred German prisoners. No less was the value of the work which was supplied for the improvement of eyes. Spectacles and eyeglasses had often been lost or broken in the crisis of evacuation and many were without the ability to read. Our opticians carried on, again, during the year of 1919, a very important work in this line, which had been begun, as most good things had been, by the English Friends. Dr. Wild and Mr. Hoeppner held clinics and fitted glasses to a large number of patients who found great joy in recovering once more their power to read.

This brief sketch gives little idea of the value of the medical and surgical work of the Mission during our period. It presents, and that very imperfectly, only the outside view.

It does not and cannot give the vivid, inside appreciation of these years of ministration. What impressed the visitor most at any one of these centers of healing were the love and friendship so lavishly bestowed upon the patients and inmates. They had come in sorrow, with their burden of pain and affliction, and they found warm human hearts as well as skillful hands, and when they returned to their own again they had not only been healed but also "restored." Something of the Christ came to them as they lay on their beds in these hospitals and they found a new peace and power for their weary, distressed souls.

Dr. Richard Cabot of Boston in a personal letter paid the following remarkable tribute to our workers:

"We have hitched up our dispensary with the Quakers who are working in Paris and outside it for refugees in a spirit not equalled on the whole by any group I have seen out here. They work with their hands, build houses, help with the plowing, do plumbing work when plumbers are unobtainable, sleep in quarters that others find too hard, save money everywhere, and because they know what simple living is, are the best of case workers in city charities, never pauperizing, never offending. They work in the true religious spirit, asking no glory and no position, sharing the hardships they alleviate, and earning everywhere such gratitude from the French that the government has offered to turn over a whole department to them if they will undertake all the work of reconstruction there. Others working here in France have friends and enemies; the Friends have only friends, and I hear only praise of their work and can give only praise from what I have seen. . . . My, but they are refreshing folks. The English and American Quaker work together and with the Red Cross admirably."

CHAPTER XII

THE WORK OF THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT

THE agricultural work was of many varieties according to the character and needs of the region in question. The central aim of course was to put the devastated land back into cultivation, to rescue the neglected areas from their small forest of weeds and to repair the havoc of trenches, shell holes and barbed wire entanglements. A large number of our American workers were first-class farmers. They had the instinct and the skill to know what to do with land. They were confronted with unusual conditions, but they rose to meet them with fine fertility of mind and energy. Like most of the other work into which the men threw themselves on their first arrival in France the agricultural work had been well organized and planned by the English Friends. This department was under the direction of Edward West and its management throughout was able and forceful. The main section in which agricultural work was being carried on when our American boys joined the work was the Marne Valley, but almost at once the recovered area in the Somme was thrown open for cultivation. It had suffered terribly from the operations of the war and still more from the deliberate devastation during the famous "Hindenburg retreat." This had been a very fertile area and our workers were keen to bring it quickly back into effective cultivation and to make it produce enough not only for the support of its own returning population but for the

assistance of less favored parts of the country. The tragedy of its reconquest and the temporary defeat of the plans of the Mission in the Somme and Aisne will be told later.

We must now turn to consider some of the types of farming in *La belle France.* The most important thing to produce was breadstuff, and our farming squads therefore always endeavored to get as much land into wheat as possible. They were well supplied with tractors, with "gang-plows" and with modern harrows for tractor service. With this equipment it was possible to prepare large areas of the soil and to put in a greater quantity of wheat than the peasants could have dreamed of doing by their more ancient methods. They were temperamentally very conservative and wedded to their own ways of farming, but they were quite willing to have our workers plow in the American way so long as the wheat was actually sowed and garnered. They often came out in large numbers—women, children and old men—to see the tractor carrying its fine row of plows through their soil. There were no fences or hedges between the peasants' fields and therefore the men could plow very large sections at a stretch. It was like a return to the primitive way of communal life, before the god of boundaries became such a powerful divinity. There were other places where the farming followed more nearly the old pre-war methods. In some sections there were horses or at least cows available for plowing and harrowing and sometimes the "holdings" of the peasants were individually tilled according to their own wishes and desires.

The reaping at harvest time was another great agricultural event and this was for the most part done with modern reapers on a large scale. Then at a later period, usually during the winter months, the threshing was done, as will be told in due time. Many other crops besides wheat were

raised, in fact the usual variety of vegetables was cultivated and potatoes naturally received the proper amount of respect that now belongs to their no longer plebeian clan.

There were centers for raising rabbits for distribution among the peasant families. There were poultry farms for producing eggs, chickens for food and chickens for distribution. There were bee farms for supplying both honey and hives of bees. There were milk farms for providing pure milk for the children of the district.

One of the interesting experiments carried on by the Mission was the maintenance of a large milk and poultry farm and center for loaning agricultural implements at Venault-les-Dames, a few miles from Sermaize, where a group of American boys showed their skill and devotion. The later work in the Verdun area will be mentioned when that extensive project is reviewed, Some glimpses of the work as it went on in the different areas will now be given. The agricultural work was done in the departments of Marne, Aisne, Somme, Meuse and Ardennes.

One of our workers has given this picture of the work in Gruny, an important center in the area released by the German retreat made in 1917:

"Gruny is French through and through. The principal avenue is lined with Lombardy poplars until it reaches the village. The village itself is not large. One could barely see it from the railroad if it were not for a small freight car standing on a siding. About a hundred and fifty tongues once chattered in its halls of fame and twice as many wooden shoes clattered down its muddy streets. But since the rough invader has swept these tiny homes of all that once did bloom there, and trampled down the work of centuries, hardly eighty souls have returned to brave their losses. Gardens gone, churches gone, chimneys gone, roofs gone. Were these piles of brick a village or are they a huge

brickyard and for sale? One is tempted to ask this question on first arrival. No, each pile of bricks, each fallen house has woven around it a mystery, a romance of a century. See the stone in yonder gable. It is marked 1813. On either side is a newly-made wheel. Evidently a wheel-wright once lived there. Again, notice the plaster on the interior. It is made of clay and straw. The roof is either of tile or slate. A shell penetrating the roof, and bursting, has sent the tile in all directions and toppled over the chimney. Thanks to ——— the faithful, many of these chimneys stand straight again. Splintered sills are being renewed. Thus one finds need of masonry, carpentry, roofing and what not. It is a jolly good chance for all-round development."

This is a picture of a typical French village as it appeared to the young Reconstruction worker in 1917. He saw before him the ruins of a strange, and to him, picturesque life, chiefly symbolized by broken ancient houses, and his work appeared plain before him, to rebuild the broken houses, or make substitutes. The background of the village life, as it had been in normal times, was usually unknown to him, and his thought was rather of restoration than of reconstruction. Yet reconstruction of a very thorough order was and is necessary. The French villages were not designed upon a plan so good that the new houses could be simply placed upon the sites of the old and all would be well. On the contrary, house was placed alongside house as closely as possible, with no idea of allowing for the free circulation of the sweet country air, or for the sense of liberty and peace that space around a house can give.

This over-crowding of the villages was a relic of the days when it had been necessary to live close together for mutual protection.

The need had long been past, but the natural conserva-

tism of the peasantry clung to the old tradition of what a village should be like.

"The grouping of the farm-houses into villages," says Arthur Walton, a member of the Friends Unit, "led to a variation in the value of land depending on its distance from the village. It became necessary therefore that the land be not all together but that a man might have a chance of owning some land near the village and some farther off. Add to this the tradition of *égalité* and the French law of inheritance, and the effect on the land was the deplorable *morcellement*. . . .

"These two factors, the overcrowded, ill-planned, unsanitary farm villages, and the *morcellement*, are to-day the out-standing difficulties of the agricultural development of the country.

"The French peasant has not kept up with the progress of other countries. He still clings to the old methods of his fathers. His lands are unsuited to growing large crops. He does not understand the machinery he is using and he knows little about scientific farming. His houses and barns are old-fashioned and cramped. And above all he does not understand the spirit of coöperation."

The recognition of these factors broadened the conception of what Friends Reconstruction workers should be about. Not only first-aid in providing shelter for the homeless, and re-starting cultivation, but also, in good time, help in more progressive and modern farm, house, and village planning, sanitation, scientific farming and the use of machinery, and the principles and practice of co-operation.

The agricultural relief undertaken by Friends provided immediate scope for a beginning under the last two heads.

Before the end of 1917 there were one hundred and sixteen men, and twenty women American workers in France, which with the English workers already there made up a total of two hundred and thirteen men and ninety-five women in the Friends Reconstruction Unit of the American

Red Cross, or, as it was called in France, la Mission Anglo-Americaine de la Société des Amis.

These were scattered abroad among the various relief centers, the majority sprinkled through that region where "The green opaque waters of the Marne flow among the poplars between the rounded chalk hills; where the villages and towns are strung like beads along the green thread of the river, which reflects their old bridges and picturesque towers; where on the hill-slopes are the vineyards and palaces of the wine kings," while in the valley below haying and plowing, sowing and reaping, take place in their season. Though now weeds, three years old, grew in the little fields, and over the hills came the thunder of distant guns.

The accession of workers and means caused new villages to be opened up for relief, and on the 15th of October, 1917, the first sod was turned in the villages of Gruny and Golancourt and the agricultural work in the Somme district began. One of the Relief workers wrote:

"To view the vast spaces of untilled land that has fallen out of cultivation, covered with rank grass and weeds of all description in boundless profusion is enough to bring despair to the most optimistic heart; but on the other hand, to take our villages one by one, to see a large field here or a small patch there now springing green with the promise of harvest where otherwise thistles would be reigning supreme, is to realize that, in spite of what still remains undone, our work has not been entirely in vain."

Besides other difficulties inherent in the work itself, the difficulty of getting horses suitable for plowing had to be met. Continuous plowing from day to day involved a heavy strain on the animals, which only really strong horses were capable of bearing satisfactorily. These were scarcely

to be had except at a prohibitive price. Again, when something in the shape of a horse was obtained, the next problem was "to feed the brute."

But one largely unforeseen difficulty, to those unfamiliar with the intimate habits and customs of the French, was the absence of the co-operative spirit among the people themselves. In a crisis, people are more apt to be ruled by their usual habits of thought and feeling than to develop new ones purposely for the occasion. The French peasant had carried individualism to an extreme for generations. Every cultivator and small farmer, however small his aggregate holdings might be, aimed to be entirely self-sufficing, with all requisite machinery, buildings and equipment, in spite of the obvious waste of this method. And the women, old men, and boys who returned to start the cultivation of the land again while their men were at the war, had no thoughts of co-operation in their minds. Each family thought of struggling with its own plot, with whatever tools it might individually own or obtain, neither seeking nor offering help among fellows in misfortune.

But *les Amis* and stern necessity taught them differently; showed them differently. Not easily, or without effort, but with much patience and persuasion they got the peasants to work together, lending help with large pieces of work, co-operating in the use of machinery. This was so obviously essential with the small amount of machinery and labor to go round that it was more possible than it would have been under ordinary conditions to get the peasants to co-operate, and the French Government, realizing that the shortage of both these essentials would last for some time after the war, most wisely encouraged the formation of permanent co-operative societies, or communal committees among the farmers. One of these was in existence at Gruny

when the Americans arrived, and at once asked their help in the development of five-hundred acres of land which they had agreed to farm jointly and share the proceeds.

It is an indication of the spirit in which the re-cultivation of the land was undertaken that some of the owners of lands included in the five-hundred acres to be jointly farmed were prisoners in Germany, or mobilized men with no one in Gruny to represent them. It was arranged to have them participate in the returns from the land, after making proper allowance for those cultivators who might supply labor in addition to the labor which the Friends Unit donated.

There still remained, of course, at Gruny and elsewhere, farmers who were obstinately conservative, and preferred to cling to their own little plots with as much independence of others as possible. These also the Friends were able to help, and in case of the women, to do their work for them.

Later the French Government prepared legislation to the effect that any farmers forming themselves into a co-operative society could borrow money from the Government at one per cent., thereby providing the first essential of all, adequate agricultural credit. Further, they undertook to sell machinery to communes, as opposed to individuals, at special rates.

"All this will be rendered easier," writes a member of the Friends Mission, "by the fact that many of the old landmarks, which divided off one little strip from another, and made it practically impossible to do anything on a large scale, have been destroyed, so that it may be possible to arrange the land on a more reasonable basis. But no government legislation, however intelligent,—and all modern agricultural legislation in France has been intelligence itself,—can ever be a really practical success,

unless the conservatism and prejudice of the farmers can be removed. The farmers of these parts have never seen a motor-plow, and even a binder is of comparatively recent adoption, so it may be surmised that they will not always take kindly to new methods and new machinery."

Friends inadvertently offered an invaluable service to the future of such progressive movements in rural France by their accustomed use of modern machinery, which they introduced and used for and alongside of the people. The motor-plow at Sermaize, for instance, once having proved its wonderful advantages, was in tremendous demand for miles around. The peasants were unwilling to see, but once having seen, "seeing was believing." In those districts, and later in the other sections, the peasants were converted, and became eager for modern machinery in defiance of the shades of their fathers.

Meanwhile, much of the old machinery, though broken, was not broken past repair if missing parts could be obtained. As the quickest and cheapest way of helping the peasants to set to work again the Friends established repair shops for machinery in different centers. In their efforts to get missing parts from the large firms in Paris they were seized with a bright idea, and became agents for several of these firms in the district of the Meuse. This enabled them to supply necessary parts at reasonable prices to the farmers.

Besides this, the French Army, when they found what work Friends were doing in repairing agricultural implements, put at their disposal two large groups of salvaged broken machinery, from which they were often able to obtain necessary parts for the repair of almost obsolete machines. In one month, 360 machines were repaired for neighboring

farmers, and so the visible forms of hope and self-respect placed in their hands.

At Gruny the workshop for repairing of machines actually succeeded, in the absence of a professional wheelwright, in restoring to active service two invalid hay-carts and four manure carts.

While building, repairing and plowing were going on at some centers others were concentrating on threshing. The condition of the land varied a good deal according to its relation with the former war-front. Portions that had been immediately behind the French lines were more or less under cultivation, and had a harvest that had been wearily and unskilfully reaped and stacked by the boys, women and old men available. Portions that had been immediately behind the German lines were often barren and covered with weeds, except in some places where the Germans had planted crops for their own use, and had been forced to leave them behind for the French.

In 1914 the good harvest had been ruined by the invasion.

In 1915, after the initial disadvantages of beginning all over again in an already war-damaged country, great losses were sustained through the people having to make stacks for the first time, their barns having been burned.

In 1916 the season was very wet; weeds had increased enormously, and the shortage of labor was extreme. More still, therefore, was lost. Also, it rained incessantly throughout the autumn, making plowing unusually difficult.

In 1917 a wet spring, following an unusually severe frost, which killed much winter wheat, made it difficult to sow more at the right time, even had seeds, implements and labor been plentiful. It rained almost every day through the harvest season, making it harder even than it inevitably would have been to gather what scanty crops had laboriously

been wrought upon to grow. Many fields were almost swamps, and the problem of getting the sodden grain threshed before the floods should entirely ruin it seemed insurmountable.

The very elements seemed against the war-weary, heart-sick, harried French civilians, struggling with weak hands against such odds.

Then what messengers of human love and good fellowship in that dreary landscape seemed the devoted, strong young men with the eight-pointed star. Their cheery foreign ways, their noisy, broken French, braced up the sad villages like windy sunshine.

They brought not only a will to serve, but threshing-machines; not only good-nature, but science and trained hands.

Says one of them, writing from Sermaize:

"During the winter months we have been almost entirely occupied in threshing the crops, often very poor ones, which have been got in during the autumn. Ours are almost the only threshing-machines in the district—consequently without the help of 'les Amis' the nine hundred tons of grain which we have done must almost certainly to a large extent have been wasted. We know only too well the badly built sunken stacks, with their green tops, sometimes two or three years old; and the waste seems almost more pitiable when the harvest has been gathered with such infinite labor by old men, women and children. Our twelve machines, seven of which are driven by petrol motors and the other five by horse-power, have worked in thirty-three different villages. Mere figures, however, give very little idea of the extent of the work or of the number of people affected by it. Conditions in France, and particularly in the war zone, are so different from those at home. Nearly all the people in this district are farmers and of them seventy-five per cent. farm under twenty-five acres. Thus the number of people with whom we come into contact is

much larger than would be expected, living as many of us have been doing, in caravans almost the whole winter, two together in a French village several miles away from our center at Sermaize, and depending entirely for our meals on the people for whom we happen to be working. It is a unique opportunity of getting to know the French peasants. Often there is no one in the villages who has ever before seen an Englishman, while an American is indeed something to be pointed out and discussed. The work from daylight to dusk on a threshing-machine for five or six months is by no means light or pleasant. The barns, when there are any left, have a door at one end onlv; and they are not merely dark, but dusty when a thresher, squeezed in between two walls of straw, fills up the only opening, and blows out a year's accumulation of dust and thistles from a particularly weedy crop of wheat or oats.

"Yet there is probably not one who has lived this life in the villages who is not glad to have had the opportunity of doing so, and grateful for the friendships so formed. To have helped in some way to lessen the poverty and hardship caused by this fearful devastation and to increase the good feeling and amity between the nations is the work for which we are here.

"It is due to a large extent to the knowledge of conditions so gained that during the spring and summer we are in a position to help those who need it most; first in plowing and sowing and later during the harvest. With a motor tractor and team of horses we have been steadily at work for several weeks, in one or two villages, taking payment in almost all cases to cover at any rate a portion of the cost of the work.

"Some ten tons of seeds of all descriptions have been sold at cost price, as well as a large quantity of artificial manures, binder twine, etc."

The value of the work may be estimated by the fact that the military authorities reported at the close of 1917 that the district around Sermaize had been unique in the war-zone as having been properly threshed.

In 1918, with increased personnel, and better permits for moving from village to village, the Friends Unit threshed 900 tons of grain as against 588 tons in 1917, and included for the first time seven fresh villages—Evres, Pretz, Sommaisne, Auzécourt, Rembercourt, Erize and Louppy le Petit.

These traveling Quaker threshers lived with the peasants as they threshed the grain of each village community. They often slept in the same room with the peasant and his entire family. They were thus unable to have their windows open to the fresh air, for as Mark Twain once humorously remarked, the reason the air is so pure in France is that the peasants always sleep with their windows shut! This close and intimate life with the people gave the workers a great place in the hearts of the villagers and opened to them a rare chance to serve in a multitude of ways, not possible for those who administered relief in bulk and from office-centers. In spite of the fact that threshing was such hard menial work attended with so few comforts of life, the threshers always speak of this branch of service with real enthusiasm and regard it as a favored privilege.

Two of our American boys arrived at such a town in the Marne with a threshing machine. One was engineer and the other fed the grain into the machine. There was a widow whose wheat they were to thresh first, and the only help she had was her old father and a one-legged son. She was a whole host in herself, but it was not enough workmen for even our energetic youth. Through the mayor they secured the assistance of two German prisoners. A soldier home for rest volunteered his aid, as did, also, two girls.

The boys felt—what is always true in these retired places—that they, none of them, had much faith in outsiders, and

they knew there was much speculation among them as to what good "the foreigners" could do.

When it was time to start the engine and show them what a foreigner could really do, the magneto failed to spark. This was at last remedied, and it started off with a glorious clatter, only to stop and start by jerks. This all gave ample opportunity for the disheartened, downtrodden populace to stand around making disparaging remarks. Our Quaker boys discovered water in the gasoline, but finally did get started. Then they threshed wheat—even with the kind of equipment necessary to use in this section—as the people here had never seen it done.

Meanwhile, the good temper, the persistent effort, the unpaid work of the boys did not pass unnoticed. And the village prospered through the material help in their crops; they learned to work together for mutual aid; they opened their hearts to a thought of something worth while for them outside their village, even outside their own country; they renewed their faith in each other; and through these whom they learned to call "The Friends," they ceased to pray to a God of Vengeance and saw Him as He truly is, Father of Loving Helpfulness.

The peasants did not always take to the new ways of doing things as this account of plowing will show:

"When we got out in the field to plow, some hundred and fifty people followed, and they sat up when the tank climbed a bank of thirty degrees. The field was marked out but the first furrow went very hard, so we stopped to take off the third plow, and even then found the clay soil too stiff to plow well up hill. *'Ca ne vaut pas quatre sous'* was one encouraging remark. The tank replied with a back fire, *soixante-quinze.* After a great battle we finished that field and in drier weather and on lighter land we soon began to



Tractor Plowing

prove its worth and overcome the prejudice caused by the bad start. Now we have a big list of plowing ahead, including two fields of twelve acres each, and we have already plowed over thirty acres, the greater part of which is sown and harrowed.

"It is being driven now on the rolling hills overlooking the beautiful river valley, Grange-le-Compte, Clermont and the wonderful Argonne forest—the only blot on the horizon the bare hills of the front. At the present time there is only one man free to run it and the jolting and heat of it is enough to peel the skin off his face and give him a terrible thirst."

The problem of re-stocking the farms with live-stock, and so increasing the food supply, was one that was harder to solve. It was in fact impossible to obtain many of the larger animals. But the food-value of the humble rabbit is not to be despised, neither is the creature expensive or difficult to keep, though his charming furriness may make him harder for the tender-hearted owner to kill. Thousands of rabbits, therefore, were distributed by the Friends Unit in the districts of the Meuse and the Marne, and later, by the help of incubators, thousands of less-appealing chickens, besides some few goats, and several hundred sheep. Professional butchers were scarce, but hunger is a great hardener of hearts.

Two or three bee-specialists among the members of the Unit also worked hard to build up a stock of bees for distribution, to add to the resources of the more or less sugarless French.

On the signing of the armistice, the Friends' work spread out through the country west of Verdun and plowing, harrowing, and sowing were done for many villages in that region. In some cases this work was done before the return

of the inhabitants, and at Brabant, the Curé, at the first service in his Church since 1914, gave thanks to God and the "Société des Amis" for the plowed fields that greeted the inhabitants on their return.

There were at this time 720 acres plowed by Friends, which would not have been done at all had they not done it.

The work of the department was arranged by its monthly meeting of delegates. Most of the work, as it developed, came as a direct result of the initiative of the workers themselves, as represented by their delegates at the monthly meetings. This system gave the members of each *équipe* freedom and a sense of responsibility, which brought out their full efficiency, enthusiasm, and esprit de corps.

It is a wonderful thing in war-time, even from the military point of view, to have some people on hand who have the time and the strength and the will to do the ordinary things upon which life depends. However valiantly the soldiers may drive the invader from the country, and so claim to defend the lives of the civilian population, (i. e. nowadays, the old men, women and children) they may return to find them dying of starvation in the spoiled and devastated crop-lands, or mentally deranged by the long despairing struggle for mere life against overwhelming odds.

But perhaps if we grew so humane and intelligent as to tell off a sufficient number of people with the requisite physical, mental and spiritual qualities, to undertake adequately the reconstruction of a country on the very heels of war, and to take proper care of the civilian population on account of which so many men were dying and killing, we should be too humane and intelligent to indulge in the grotesque and self-contradictory practice of war any more.

CHAPTER XIII

EVACUATIONS IN SPRING 1918 BEFORE THE GERMAN ADVANCE

AN unexpected and discouraging set-back to the work of the new recruits to reconstruction work was experienced in the spring of 1918. They were just beginning to see some results of their labors in building, relief, agriculture, and medical work, when the tide of war turned, and the Germans started the big push which was their dying, convulsive effort. Where they passed, the reconstruction work—the mended tools, the little wooden *maisons démontables,* the patched up houses, all the little glad signs of returning civilization, were wiped out, and the former desolation restored in more than its former despair.

When the German offensive began on March 21st, seventy houses which it had taken the construction camp at Dôle months to make, were destroyed. Sixty men who were at work in five centers, some of them barely five miles from the lines, were ordered to evacuate. Owing to the conditions under which the evacuation had to be carried out, the need of first helping all the peasants possible in their various difficulties, nearly all the tools were left behind, and large parts of the personal and domestic equipment of the Friends Unit were lost. The crowded condition of the roads, jammed with fleeing refugees and long trains of army camions, made necessary the abandonment of one of the tractors, two "caravans" and some agricultural machinery.

The *équipe* at Foreste, closest to the German lines was forced to evacuate on the first day of the offensive, and in rapid succession those at Ham, Golancourt, Esmery-Hallon and Gruny found themselves under the same necessity. Some of the men were under fire, but there were no casualties at this time. The chief danger to health afterwards was excessive fatigue, owing to the prolonged and unceasing demands made upon the mental, spiritual, and physical resources of the Friends, advising the bewildered peasants, carrying the bundles of the weak, seeking lost children, aiding with recalcitrant cows, sharing their scanty stores of food with the hungry, cheering people on the road, and then working to make arrangements for their comfort when they had reached a place of safety. It was a particularly strenuous interval, full of ordinary kindnesses, unheroic commonplace acts of commonsense and charity, not noticeable, nothing to boast about afterwards, but a very literal interpretation of the recommendation in the New Testament about being "least of all and servant of all." The French peasants had learnt to regard *les Amis* as friends—people to be appealed to, people who would do things for them.

As for the feeling of *les Amis*, one of them, writing a week after the evacuations, when depression at the wasted work, the destroyed effort, might have been expected to be the prevailing mood, says:

"I could not think of the loss of our material work . . . but only of the tremendous gain in friendship and good-will among a people to whom we cannot even yet speak plainly. There is one thought ingrained in every one of us, and that is that as soon as we can, we must go back and help them set their homes in order and begin life anew. If the people in America who are back of us will give us half a chance, we can, I think, accomplish thrice the good that we have in the past."

The stories of this little tragic interval are full of pictures of a war-ridden country, and of the kind of spontaneous, sensible action which the Friends' organization made it possible for individuals to render in the moment of need.

Harold F. Trew writes:

"From the edge of the forest one looks out across the plain to the ruined city of Rheims, and the gray towers of its cathedral. Southward from the town runs the highway to Epernay,—across the plain, up the hillside, through the forest and down again as it winds through the vineyards of the Marne. To-day a strange caravan is passing along it. Farm-carts piled high with sacks, bedding and furniture; a wrinkled old woman sitting on one, a farmer and his children surrounding it; here a herd of cattle or a shepherd with his gray drove of sheep raising a cloud of dust as it passes; men, women and children pushing trucks and perambulators filled with babies and packages,—an *entrepreneur des transports* obliged to-day to undertake his own removal. Everything with wheels capable of being moved is moved southward, through the forest and the vineyards to the town, beyond it to the towers of Montmort and the poplar-filled valleys beyond. The highway becomes more crowded as they pass, and every road from the west or northwest brings a tributary stream running southward, always southward, while to the north where the guns sound, passes another cavalcade, of many nations and tribes, white with the dust of the roads.

"It is evening, and the caravan has turned aside from the highway into the green fields among the poplars. Tarpaulins are spread across two carts placed near together, or over a rough framework of branches; horses and cattle graze near by; the old village shepherd guards his gray sheep among the red poppies, and the blue smoke of camp fires rises up through the trees while the evening meal is prepared, and the bright red *duvets* laid out on the green grass between the carts.

"Northwestwards runs the road to X. . . . At the crossways,—where emerging from the forest, one looks down to the river,

along whose banks, and among the trees beside it, are the unseen opposing forces,—a shell has fallen, tearing up the stones, and making passage difficult. Below and to the right is a little village, and the car, running down the hillside, is soon between the houses; but for a few soldiers placing telephone wires, or a passing cavalier, the place is deserted. Two or three inhabitants had indeed been seen that morning, but a search in the dark cellars, and in the rooms where tables are still spread with the remains of an unfinished meal, and on whose hearths the fires are burnt out, reveals no one. Outside not a soul is to be found. Stay, here is an old woman in her garden. Would she go in the car over the hill to safety? No, she could not leave; her garden must be attended to, there were her rabbits and cows to feed,—she must stay to look after her children's interests; and anyhow, she was *'asses vieille pour faire une morte.'* Perhaps, among all the sad things of war these old people are the saddest of all. If they are taken from possible death they are torn too from all that life holds dear for them,—the farm where they had lived in childhood, and where their sons and grandsons had been born, the fields they had tilled, the church they had prayed in.—*'J'aime mieux mourir ici que sur les chemins.'* And so she had to be left. One man only can be found to return in the car. At the cross-ways several more shells have fallen, one falls upon it when the car has passed, and another in the edge of the wood fifty yards ahead, throwing brown earth over the road.

"Here are two women walking back towards their village to fetch clothing. Pointing towards a group of houses a mile or so away, they ask that the car may take them there: besides the packages there are old and sick people who wish to leave. So the car makes towards the houses. . . . In the village there seems no sign of life, no sound but the scream of shells overhead, the echo of the guns across the woods. The women in the car point to a cellar door. There, they say, is a woman with her baby, but three days old, who wants to leave the village. Down in the darkness, in the damp and cold, but in safety from the shells, lie the mother and her new-born babe. The mattress is taken out

and laid in the car, the mother and child carried out of the cellar and placed upon it. Little groups have now gathered in the village street around the car. There is not room for all who wish to go. Several old people with bundles of clothing hurriedly gathered together find places in the car, leave is taken and tears shed, the car speeds up the hill and through the wood again.

"Two old people, one of them a cripple, to be brought from the cellars of the distillery at Y——." So runs the message handed to us. As night falls the car passes through the forest towards the valley of the Marne. The report of the guns shakes the earth and echoes across the woods. . . . At the edge of the forest, the road is pitted with shell-holes, torn branches of trees lie across it, the dark brown earth is scattered everywhere. Across the valley in the dusk one can see the opposing line of hills; below, between the trees, the gleam of the river, here and there the silver light of a flare. The car runs quietly down to the town. A spell seems to have fallen upon the place, no sound or movement is there, it is a city of the dead. Knocking on the doors brings no response; we enter the rooms; they are deserted. Further along broken stones and tiles lie about the streets, shattered fragments of glass reflect the light of the stars. The road leading to the bridge head is hidden by camouflage. Beyond it is a sentry who makes his challenge and leads us to the officers' quarters. Our mission told, we are taken to the distillery cellars. Here, in the great vaults hewn from the chalk in the depths of the earth, lit now by the dim light of candles and lamps, mattresses are laid out, and upon them, not two persons only but twenty-five. Some are already awake, others are awakened—eager to leave the fated town. The limit of baggage which can be carried is a deterrent, and the selection of the right articles to be taken is a lengthy process. Lame and sick people are carried up the interminable steps to the open air, the first load made up, and the hillside climbed once more.

"Past the cross-roads one breathes again, but three journeys instead of one must be made; the distance from the base is long, and the night is short. . . .

"As the car climbs the hillside with its last load, the moon rises red between the dark trees, dawn follows, and the mist among the poplars vanishes away. . . .

"Rough peasants are these farmers, whose fair children seem to owe but little to their parents, but to be rather children of nature, a part of the field from which they have been torn. Here is one little girl with complexion sallow as the fields from which the hay is carried, the curves of her face recalling the rounded chalk uplands, her fair hair stirred by the breeze as the wind stirs the corn, her eyes gray and deep as the waters of the Marne into which they have so often gazed. . . ."

Ernest Brown's account is vivid and worthy of a place in the story of disaster and of bravery:

"I will have to condense the account of recent happenings both because of the censorship and for lack of time to write more fully.

"To begin with, on the morning that the great offensive started the guns commenced to roar at about 4:30 A. M. so that we could hardly sleep and soon we could hear the shells whistling by and bursting near the station. We concluded it would be a good hunch to get up and see what was doing. We did so, some of the fellows went to their work and we chauffeurs worked on our cars. About 10 A. M. word came in that the Germans were advancing and that villages up the line had orders to evacuate by train. We went out to assist if we could and 'Fritz' was slinging shells in every little while.

"After the civilians were all on the train which was waiting for them, we went on out to evacuate our own boys who were still further toward the front. It was just about as hot territory as I ever want to be in, with shells exploding along the sides of the roads and the allied artillery right over the other side of a big hill from where we were, making a terrible noise. The wounded were coming in by the hundreds in ambulances and trains. The following morning we were awakened at 5:30 by the Town Crier going around with a bell and telling all civilians to

leave the town by either the 7:30 A. M. or 10 A. M. train. I dressed at once and got right busy with the motor truck hauling people and baggage to the station. All of our crowd left on the 10 o'clock train except Sid Brown, our other chauffeur, Bell, Preston, Greist, Hinshaw, Miss Glancy and myself. We started out with the two cars going different ways toward Paris. I drove to a town about twelve miles away where there was an American Red Cross Officer who asked us to stay and help in a number of villages which he knew were going to be evacuated. Preston, Greist and myself stayed and helped to evacuate and settle the refugees in a large college building while the Germans were still coming on.

"That night about 11:45 we were through with helping the people and then started back to the town where our headquarters had been, to bring out our food stores. I will never forget that ride as long as I live. It was moonlight with a thick fog covering the ground. We drove twelve miles and at about 1:15 A. M. we crossed the bridge into the town and then stopped to listen. There was not a sound except the occasional bark of a machine gun. It seemed strange that there was no more noise but we went on into the town, loaded up our supplies and got ready to pull out about 3 A. M. We met some British outpost sentries who said they didn't know where the Germans were, but that they were expecting them into the town before long. We thought we might as well leave as by now the machine guns seemed to be shooting pretty lively. Just before we pulled out we met four 'Tommies' wheeling a boy on a stretcher who had machine-gun bullets in his thigh and arm and was bleeding badly. They stopped us and asked us to take him on to a hospital. As the large hospital near by had been cleared out, the nearest one was about nine miles away, so we put him on top of the load with two of the fellows that were with him. The fog was getting thicker but we could see about fifty feet ahead. We could, of course, have no lights and started on slowly. The first thing I knew I had run my left wheel into a large shell hole big enough to bury a three ton truck in, but fortunately by a quick jerk, I ran my right wheel up on a bank

and got safely around the place. It was then fairly easy driving for awhile. We passed about five miles of retreating horse artillery. Ahead of the artillery came more equipment, tractors and what not and it took some two and a half to three hours to go a distance of perhaps twenty kilometers. We arrived at our repair group about 4 to 6 A. M. I do not know the exact time as all our watches had stopped. We found our fellows all ready to pull out with their stuff loaded into the carts of our agricultural department. I immediately unloaded the food stores and used the car to take out all the people who wished to be evacuated, but some of them preferred to stay and take their chances. As the village was small and the people few, I soon finished and went back to the Red Cross warehouse, packing up my food stores again en route.

"The following day was spent in hauling mattresses for the refugees who had come from the villages near by. About noon of the next day they sent me out to help evacuate a village ten miles away to the east telling me that I would be back that night very late, or at least the next day before noon. As a result, I left everything that I owned at the warehouse, even leaving my uniform coat and wearing a leather one, as I knew there would be a lot of work to do and I wanted to keep it clean. They kept me four days on that job, however, and by that time the Germans had occupied the town I had left. I lost, therefore, almost all my clothing, my mandolin, my gold watch, $40.00 in American Express Company checks and some rather valuable tools belonging to the Motor Department. The boys that were there saved my 'cello, fur coat and suit case, but the last mentioned contained little of value.

"At the next village to which we were moved we stayed two days with the guns getting heavier all the time until we had got all the people out and most of the food stores. I had been sleeping in a cellar, in my motor truck, in the back of a Ford car and in various other places and did not take off my clothes, except my shoes, for nearly a week. On the third morning at this village they routed us out at about 3 A. M., saying that the Boche had

launched a gas attack and that we had better leave. This we did with our gas masks all ready for an emergency, but nothing startling happened.

"Again we were transferred to another evacuation center and by this time Hainer Hinshaw and I with the 'Garner' car were the only ones of the 'Mission des Amis' left in that particular district. From there I was sent to a large town directly on the road to Paris about eight or nine miles from where the Germans were and at this place I had an opportunity to tune up my car, scrape out the carbon, etc. This town or rather city had been completely evacuated and the Red Cross had a whole hotel turned over to them and there I slept in a real bed. It was some experience to feel a bed under you after sleeping in all kinds of places. 'Fritz' soon commenced to shell this place, particularly the railroad and we went to bed in the cellar the second night. After being there about three days some of our crowd blew in with the 'White' car and then we all pulled out for Beauvais where I am located at this writing with the American Red Cross directed by a Mr. Jackson who is an exceedingly nice and efficient man. Our work now consists in meeting trains, caring for refugees that come in from the villages up the line and sending them on down to the south of France as soon as we can get enough to make up a train load. We have sent out two trains since I have been here, one of 600 and one of 800 people, but the stream is lessening now and unless the Germans come on farther we will be out of a job here soon.

"It is a heartrending sight to see these people driven out with just what stuff they can carry with them. I have taken them out of their homes with the ear-splitting guns all around, packed their stuff and moved them away. I have walked through an entire city the size of West Chester, Penn., or larger, all intact but with not a single civilian in it. It is sad, sad business and I for one will rejoice when it is all over. Not for my own sake, but for the thousands of miserable people we have helped to move out of war's pathway during the past two weeks.

"I thank goodness that I am somewhat of an optimist."

Carleton MacDowell writes from Gruny:

"We'd not finished dinner on March 22nd (after two days of constantly approaching bombardment) when Walls, from Golancourt, appeared at the door. All the Golancourt and Esmery-Hallon men were on foot or wheel or in carts. . . . I've been washing dishes for some of the men who may come in at any time. Marshall and Wray have been peeling potatoes to fry for them. . . .

"The rest of the evening seems now as one confused whirl; constant chasing back and forth between the dining-room and kitchen—people eating at the tables—always eating—new faces always. Then the tramping about in the grenier, where our refugee comrades were finding their beds. . . . Each group of fellows brought more stories, and each new set of stories brought the Germans nearer, and made the outlook more gloomy. It was eleven when Kit and I finally started up to Vigne Verte to pack. The great soup-kettle filled with oatmeal all cooked was in the oven.

"2 A. M. Kit and I turned in for some rest—hard work while a retreat was in progress, while the camions were snorting and jockeying for positions outside, the air restless with planes—French and Boche too, with occasional bombs and machine-guns. At four Joe came in. We were to get out as soon as possible. Things looked black. . . .

"Ernest Brown appeared about dawn with a load of stores saved from Ham. They had begun to eat breakfast when I arrived at the house; some were standing as they gulped down their oatmeal. M—— had opened up the treasures of his stock—dates, figs, nuts, apples, cheese. We ate and stuffed pockets and knapsacks. The food supplies from Ham were unloaded in the yard, so that the camion could be used to help evacuate some of the neighbors. K. went all round the village telling everybody of the chance to be evacuated at once. . . .

"Down along the road through the fields we swung towards Roye en route for Montdidier. Wheat was just breaking through



A Group of Refugees

—some of it in stocky plants of rich green; the smooth brown soil was all planted; newly-plowed patches in deep furrows were made almost purple-brown by the steam that the sun was wooing out of the frost. The sparkle of the day was elating. One could not help feeling the wine of spring.

"We were passed by E., with a camion filled with Gruny people; Madame D——, Madame F——,— I didn't recognize all of the people, they looked so unnatural dressed in coats and hats. We waved—but a heartsick farewell it was. They were gone in a moment. . . . And all the time the skylarks were doing as only they know how; their exaltation and jubilation would win your heart and hold your attention for a moment, then the pangs of the hour would sweep back with more overcoming realization. . . .

"Here was a group of two women and several girls hopelessly gazing at the broken tongue of their two-wheel cart. The situation looked very difficult at first, but by strings and a strap the broken tongue was secured in place, and a redistribution of the weight of the luggage finished the job. We pulled it along a little way to test its running, and then marched on ahead searching for other service. . . . Almost every one was too busy to be very unhappy, too occupied with wheeling or pushing or trudging or just holding on, to mourn. Wheel-barrows were heaped head-high; carts held more above the usual high sides than between them, and sometimes a smaller cart trailed on behind. Mother, in a weirdly adorned hat, was enthroned on one such trailer; another cart was so full that the only place for Madame was a short projection beyond the tailboard, and there she clung. There were people who had left comfortable homes and had several carts. We saw many a keg of wine; we saw cases of champagne. There were Mesdames all alone with nothing to carry but the leading rope of a cow—or a baby-carriage. One woman was sitting on the bank, her face buried in her hands, a handkerchief thrown over her head—just she and the baby. . . .

"There people were retracing their steps; once before they had turned their backs on their homes. . . . Was it worth while to

have made the new start? Would it have been better to have remained refugees than to suffer the intensity of the war again? Easter came to Gruny with war and destruction. As Easter dawns it clearly dawns upon us that our hopes—their hopes—have been crushed; that our work has even now been undone, and how quickly. Yet the best of it remains, the best which was the inner purpose of it all."

Parvin M. Russell writes from a relief group:

"Somewhere southeast of Château-Thierry and southwest of Epernay, a location which was pretty well chosen as a relief center, since quite a stream of refugee families poured through on their way out of the immediate path of the Germans. There was a temporary canteen serving soup and coffee all day long, with bread and beans, sometimes separate, sometimes in the soup, but it was a welcome spot for the weary folk who trudged by with wagons and wheelbarrows piled high with their household affairs. Our three or four autos did good service bringing old or crippled people out of the towns close up behind the new lines. . . . One of the boys from the Source and I had an old Renault car with a van body, which served nicely for both ordinary and ambulance work. . . . We did find one case that hardly bears the telling, but it was our job to remove a sick woman from a small town where practically no civilians remained; all had sought safety, leaving this woman absolutely alone in bed, unable to get out of bed to prepare her own meals. The soldiers in the other houses had their hands full with their own affairs and so she was practically marooned. The military had telegraphed us to come and get her, it is true, but when we arrived, the four *poilu* stretcher-bearers who volunteered to help put her in the auto, one by one sought the fresh air of the front yard, apparently somewhat concerned about the lunch they had recently had (and didn't care to lose). Finally one of them nerved himself to the task and with a handkerchief for a gasmask, I went in to see if I could help him; but such a condition of filth and

helplessness I have never seen. We couldn't put her on a stretcher because of the pain of moving her infected and terribly swollen leg; the old *brancardiers* would not touch her; so it ended by putting her whole bed into the auto and taking her forty-five miles to the hospital. . . . The next day, having to go to the same hospital with another load, I inquired about the poor woman, and was told that she was really doing nicely. . . .

"It was pleasing, too, throughout the whole little period of service in that region, to have the various military authorities express their appreciation of the work 'Les Amis' were doing. As one captain of about forty-five years said to me, 'It makes it easier for these poor folks to bear with leaving home, since your people look after them and show kindness,' and I believe it did help them to forget something of the bitterness of their lot. One old lady was able to get something of a thrill out of the fact that it was her first ride in an automobile. And certainly the hot soup and coffee at the canteen were always a surprise and delight to them. . . . Another definite service our canteen did was to distribute information to refugee farmers in regard to taking up their abode on abandoned farms, of which there were a large number available; also directing their attention to various bureaus which could place them at work on under-cultivated farms. All this tended at once to point out some definite objective, and brought a ray of hope back to many a man who might have gone on in a sort of discouraged fashion and lost a good chance to start for himself again. . . .

"In the house just beside our canteen lived a tiny little sunny-haired girl named Audrée, who used to play around, much interested in all that was going on. She was a little ball of sunshine, and was actually kept clean by a very careful mother, so that we all nearly spoiled her. But the last day, as two of us were finally closing up the place and packing the last pan into the auto, little Audrée was out to see it all, and when we said good-bye I took a kiss 'in my fingers' so to speak, and placed it on her tiny forehead. It surprised her for a minute (it was evi-

dently a new way to be kissed) but she looked up and quick as a bird kissed her own little fingers and reached up to put the kiss on my furrowed brow."

And Richard Clements casts light from another angle from Montdidier:

"Two of us who had ridden (on bicycles) ahead of the rest of our party went at once to the sous-préfecture to ask if the members of our Mission could in any way assist the civil authorities in the work of feeding and lodging the émigrés who were arriving. We were informed that the authorities had received no news of the evacuation of several places we mentioned, and that no arrangement had been made to feed or lodge the people coming into the town. In company with a secretary from the sous-préfet's office, we next called upon Monsieur le Maire, who was equally surprised to learn that five or six hundred émigrés were en route for Montdidier. We held a hurried consultation together, and agreed upon a few simple things that had to be done at once.

"B. G. was sent off post-haste on a bicycle to tell the people on the road to come at once upon arrival to the town square. The Maire telephoned the military authorities for a supply of bread, to be distributed immediately to the émigrés.

"In the meantime a group of American ladies, members of the Red Cross, had arrived on the scene. They secured the use of a small room in a house near the *Place,* and in the course of the day were able to provide crowds of hungry people with bread and hot coffee.

"Late in the same evening, the use of the *Ecole Maternelle* in a street adjacent to the *Place* was secured as a lodging house for those, and they were many, who had failed to obtain accommodation elsewhere. The lodgers brought their own bedding, placed it on the floor in one of the schoolrooms, and settled down to sleep until morning.

"Next day the feeding center was transferred to this building, and a large quantity of food was prepared in a hastily improvised

kitchen during Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. Soup, coffee, chocolate, bread, meat and fruit were distributed to the people as they arrived, and also to those who passed through Montdidier railway station by train. In the course of three days, the small group of English and American workers at Montdidier were able to provide some little refreshment for two or three thousand people."

The elasticity of the Friends' organization, and their capacity for spontaneous service are well-exemplified by the mention in this letter of

"Our Friend, Eric Boston, who during our stay at Montdidier had done splendid work on behalf of the most sorely-tried people, accompanied the *émigrés* on one of the trains that were ministered to, in order to render the *émigrés* what service he could en route and to help to make some provision for them at the end of their journey," at a *destination inconnue.*

Montdidier itself, however, was only a temporary refuge.

"On Tuesday three of our workers were able to evacuate the sick and infirm people from the *Hospice* of Montdidier. These unfortunate sufferers were carried from their beds, placed on board the 'White' camionette, and then taken to the railway station, about a mile and a half away. A long, closed goods wagon had been brushed out and converted into a temporary traveling hospital ward, with beds placed upon the floor for the most serious cases. Six or seven women, all of them seriously ill, and two of them in a dying condition, were placed on these beds in charge of two nuns from the *Hospice.* . . .

"About eight o'clock on Tuesday evening we had been advised to leave Montdidier as soon as possible, as it was thought to be dangerous to remain any longer. The townspeople were leaving in streams. . . .

"Two of us set out for Amiens at two o'clock on Wednesday morning. Montdidier seemed like a town of the dead. The

houses were deserted, the shops closed, and the streets had become strangely silent, only here and there one saw an odd civilian, or a hurrying group of soldiers. The town lay waiting for its enemies. Montdidier had been evacuated."

Says another writer:

"Experience has proven that the people will go back to the Somme at the earliest possible moment, and that they will rejoice at our return. We shall be needed more than before. It will mean much to the people, and more to us who have worked with them in their broken homes before the drive. And it will mean much to the whole Society which we represent. The people want us and need us. Our duty is plain. 'Back to the Somme' as soon as the way opens is our slogan."

When this disaster was envisaged by the Mission, it became evident that one of the first things to be done was to house as many refugee families as possible and to take them where no more "drives" by great armies would smash through their homes. Our house-building shops turned to the task of making houses for refugees in near-by towns. Parks were furnished in some of the cities within easy reach of the house factories in which we were given permission to build temporary *cités* for these desolate and homeless sufferers.

One of the most interesting of these refugee *cités* was the one in the great park of Besançon where a long winding park-road was lined on both sides with the pretty brown houses topped with tile roof. A touching experience happened to me as I went down this road examining the houses of the *cité* about New Years of 1919. The little children gazing out of the windows saw me going by, dressed in the uniform of the Friends' Mission. They recognized that it



A Glimpse of the *Cité* in Besançon Park

was some one connected with the kind men who built their homes.

In a happy throng they rushed out, circled and danced around me and shouted with unrestrained joy. I felt like a father returning to his enthusiastic children after a long absence. It revealed the real inner significance of the labor of love.

Other similar *cités* were built at Dôle along the river front, at Troyes and at Monceau-les-Mines. The way our men met the disaster of "the great drive" is finely shown in the closing words of Carleton MacDowell's letter:

"When the end came and the material works were lost, the best of all remained—that best which was the inner purpose of it all. Neighborliness, friendship, kindliness, sympathy—these are made of stuff which no chemistry of war can crush, any more than death can end the influence of a man's personality.

"The never-dying spirit of a man carried on and on, in ever broadening circles in the lives of others—this is immortality. We face half a year's work torn to pieces. Yet I believe the influence of our work will live on in the lives of our neighbors, in our own lives. The final sacrifice will deepen its effect. For does not Christianity itself have at its heart this triumph of spiritual over material!"

CHAPTER XIV

RELIEF WORK AND OTHER FORMS OF SERVICE

"RELIEF" was obviously one of the most pressing needs, as the havoc and devastation presented themselves on every hand to our workers. The need for relief in general was of course manifest everywhere, but there were certain specific types of relief which made an especial appeal to the members of the Mission. There were many old women who were left with no one to care for them and who were often too feeble or ill or broken to care for themselves. These were gathered as far as possible in central "homes" where they received the care and attention which they needed. There were, too, hosts of orphan children in all sections of our areas. Their cases always made a peculiar appeal and they received a due share of the time and energy of the relief workers. They were gathered also at various centers and given good care and the best available substitute for home.

Then there was the immediate care of throngs of refugees, both those who were swept out of the shelled sectors and those who came back through Switzerland from behind the German lines. The former were assembled, as we have seen, in constructed *cités* where they had good homes of their own while the others were quartered as comfortably as possible in the departments of France which were unthreatened and where they were supplied with a small financial allowance for their needs of life. Besides these there were broken parts of families who drifted to the regions which had been

partially devastated and afterwards left free by the withdrawal of the invading armies. This latter case was true of the Marne district which had seen the retreat of the invading army after the First Battle of the Marne. Neither Bar-le-Duc on the east of this Marne district nor Châlons-sur-Marne on the west were ever taken by the invading armies. They were both shelled and bombed and suffered much destruction, but nevertheless life went on in them. Here were huddled, therefore, many refugees from near-by regions and both these beautiful cities became important centers of relief under our Mission. Great quantities of sewed and knitted garments which were made in our local centers in all parts of America where there were Friends eventually reached the storehouses of Bar-le-Duc and Châlons and other similar towns and here they were distributed by the trained relief workers. They visited the groups of refugees, or, as the case might be, the little scattered families which were endeavoring to maintain a kind of life amid the débris of the peasant villages and supplied them with clothes which they could put on in place of their tatters. Perhaps nothing was ever done which gave more real comfort to these long-suffering people than to put them into warm clothes. Life was unendurably bleak and their poor shelters were very cold in winter, so that warm, whole clothes came as a great blessing. With the clothes came, too, what they needed hardly less—love, affection and friendly sympathy. The distribution of pure milk for the children was another form of relief which occupied a number of workers. It was one of the most valuable of all the services of relief. Some of the milk supplied came from our own Mission cows, a large herd being kept for this purpose on the farm at Venault-les-Dames. Hives of bees were also furnished to the peasants in some sections favorable for bees, so that families

might use honey as a good substitute for sugar. One of the interesting centers for the "culture" of bees was at Evres. Rabbits, hares and chickens were also raised in great numbers in many of the centers of agriculture and distributed by the relief workers. Garden utensils, farm implements and seeds for sowing and planting formed still another type of relief. There were also centers for the repair of farming tools and implements, which, in a world where almost everything customary had broken down, proved to be an almost indispensable form of help. As soon as the refugees were able to get back to their new homes, the relief workers helped them to get furniture for their houses, cooking dishes and utensils and other indispensable things for home life. In some centers besides doing ordinary sewing, the women were taught to make mattresses, pillows and that curious contrivance which the French call *duvet*—a thick feather-quilt too short to cover the entire bed but very warm for the limited area that is covered!

One of the great services of the mission of relief was that of teaching the women and girls, both in the villages and in the refugee groups, to make embroidery as a means of financial self-assistance. This soon became an extensive business in all the relief centers. There were two main types of work in which they were instructed, (1) the white embroidery and (2) the colored work. Some preferred to work at one type and some at the other. The workers in the Mission supplied the embroidery cloth at a small price and also the thread and the wool, and they taught the art to the women. The women quickly became experts and turned out large quantities for sale. The sales were handled by the workers in charge and though the prices asked were not low, the work sold as rapidly as it could be made. The women took the raw material to their homes and therefore could look

after their little children, if they had any and make a good living from the sales of their handiwork. It also kept their minds from their sorrows and enabled them in some sense to stand the hard world in which they found themselves. Besides this somewhat fine and delicate work, the relief centers also furnished other types of material for more common forms of needlework. There were, too, other ways provided by which the women could earn money for their support or at least could assist toward it. These centers were extremely busy places, especially in the morning when the women came for their material and their designs. Here once more the point of contact was close between the helpers and those helped and interesting links of friendship were formed. Sophia M. Fry was head of Relief through the entire period of our service. She was most unsparing of herself and always busy with the plans for lessening the hard tragedy of the people. She was abounding in energy which seemed exhaustless, and she had power of endurance to go steadily on from one stage of relief to another without losing either vitality or human interest in those who constituted the problem. This labor of course involved frequent trips of investigation to study the needs of new regions, complicated problems of oversight and many trips from the remote centers to Paris for committee meetings, for consultation and for purchasing of material. This relief service offered a field for a large number of women workers, though some features and branches of it fell to the men, and each center had workers of both sexes.

Besides the two centers already mentioned there were corresponding types of work carried on at Troyes, a city of fifty thousand inhabitants with a host of refugees, at Sermaize, at Vitry, at Charmont, at Bar-sur-Aube, at Romilly and at Lisieux. In the Châtillon district there were

centers at Mareuil-le-port, Nanteuil, Verneuil, at Pargny-les-Reims, with a small center also in the city of Rheims. At a later period in the Meuse there were relief centers at Grange-le-Compte, Sainte Menehould, Varennes, Les Islettes, Neuilly, Clermont, Fromeréville near Verdun, Brabant, Dombasle, Givry-en-Argonne, and in the Ardennes at Grand Pré, Mouzon, Dun-sur-Meuse, Attigny and Châtel-Chéhéry. Finally there was an important center at Ham, after the return of refugees.

The sense that all that they could do was after all but a drop in the bucket of abnormal human suffering—the alleviation of the distress of tens among thousands of needy—could not fail to weigh at times upon the Relief workers, especially perhaps when they were fresh on the field, and for the first time really confronted by the magnitude of their task. But one of the paragraphs of the encouraging message of the old-stager English workers to the new-coming Americans touches and illuminates this very point:

"In the districts devastated by the war you may be disheartened by the immense mass of suffering and the smallness of the help it is possible to give. There is nothing we have felt more acutely ourselves during our three years out here. But along with this feeling of helplessness we have learnt something of the opposite. At a time when people are thinking in continents, in millions of lives and hundreds of millions of money, we have lived in small villages among humble people, doing unsensational though interesting work; we have come to see that personal sympathy and genuine understanding are all the more welcome at a time when individual personality is generally unconsidered."

Friends, with their fundamental belief in the value of the individual, did not despise trifles. It was as worth their while to cheer up the children as to build houses or work the fields for their seniors. They were as ready to make a long

and dangerous motor-trip to get one old woman out of a cellar as to fetch two-score. And having got them out they did not turn them adrift to fend for themselves but carefully deposited them in some safe place where their care was assured.

R. B. writes:

"Yesterday I drove over 150 miles in a driving rain. I brought three refugees down from just back of the lines. They were old women who had been living in a cellar ever since the Germans were driven out of their village, and as they were continually under shell-fire, they had hardly been out of this cellar for six months. All three were over sixty years old, and were nearly dead from underfeeding and exposure. The Unit has opened up a home for just such cases as these at Charmont. . . .

"The life in these little French villages that were destroyed by the war is awful. You can't imagine how any one could live for months in a cellar without a change of clothes or a bath. They come out of their holes just reeking with filth."

Perhaps the description of this modest work at Charmont might come appropriately here, with an appreciation of the amount of devotion which is necessarily entailed on the American girl, Frances Ferris, who undertook the charge of it. Here is her own description, with all reference to service or sacrifice conspicuous by its absence:

"Charmont does not belie its name. It is a picturesque village crowning the hills that border the Marne valley, about ten kilometers north of Sermaize. Some twenty years ago this was one of the richest vineyards of Champagne, and the comfortable farm houses still betoken the prosperity of the village. But a blight struck the vines and the fields were turned to farms, and the farming is now carried on on a small scale, merely for the individual family maintenance rather than for profit. The surrounding forest lands offer the largest industry

of the district at present, and daily processions of ancient dames pass the door, bearing enormous burdens of fagots on their backs in cornucopia baskets. The slopes are covered with orchards that next month must clothe the landscape with a drift of bloom.

"The little *équipe* here, consisting at this moment of one American and ten old women refugees, had its genesis after the Fall bombardments at Bar. It seemed necessary to find some place near enough to Bar, to which these infirm old people, not ill, but not able to sleep in the caves, could be brought by automobile. Charmont, not being on any railroad, is totally unimportant from a military point of view, and so is fairly safe. Six weeks of rain, rats and wretchedness were spent in an abandoned old château near by, before the present cosy farm-house was secured and the *ménage* moved in. The location is on the edge of the village, overlooking a wide expanse of country to the west. It is the site of the ancient château of Renaumont, twice destroyed, once by a thunderball, the second time in the Revolution by a mob who came, so the story goes, to murder two priests as they were holding midnight services in the chapel. A moat still surrounds the place, where ducks paddle peacefully and groups of garrulous women bat and rinse their *blanchissage*. The present buildings were the farm- and out-houses of the old château. The great *greniers* and sheds stand empty and swept, ready to receive a possible influx of refugees, if the Spring brings a new bombardment at Bar. At present, the distant booming of the cannon in the Argonne, or an occasional high-flying Boche plane are the only disturbers of the peace.

But Charmont's *raison d'être* is not merely to furnish a shelter for a handful of stranded old refugee women. The doctor holds a weekly clinic here and considerable amateur medical work is done in the village. A shop has been opened where stuffs, bedding and furniture are sold at reduced prices to refugees. Recently an *ouvroir* has been opened at Nettancourt, near by, where cut-out clothing is distributed for sewing, the same to be sold afterward in the shop later in the Spring; when the roads get more passable—or navigable rather—the Verdun visiting will be

done by bicycle in the district to the north. As the work in the 'New Meuse' develops, Charmont may even become a *pied-à-terre* (relief center) of some importance for that region. Thus Charmont makes no pretentions, but tries to fill a modest place of real service in the work of the Mission."

Something which may seem in itself slight among so much important work, and yet which displays the spirit of the Friends Mission supremely, was the celebration of Christmas which was undertaken by all the *équipes*, as near as possible to the 25th of December. For three years no Christmas celebration had been held in any of the war-zone villages, and the younger children had hardly any memory of it as a festive season. In fact, any sort of parties or rejoicing was foreign to their gray little war-ridden lives. In the Christmas parties held by the Friends, the wonderful, never-to-be-recaptured rapture of childhood was given to these little ones who had so far been denied their rightful heritage. And the grown-up folks shared in their joy. Joy, in the midst of sorrow, misery and desolation—it was no small contribution to France to bring it into being even in a few scattered villages. For Christmas, 1917, at the suggestion of Charles Evans, the Philadelphia Committee sent over a ton of candy put up in little individual boxes. The celebration at Gruny is typical of many others. There is no better way of reproducing its spirit than by quoting from the first-hand accounts of workers who shared in its labor and its fun:

"Our men in France are not only using their hands in building houses, repairing machinery, tilling fields, and threshing grain, but they are using their big hearts in bringing new hope and joy into the lives of the people among whom they are working.

"Do you ask what place a Christmas entertainment has in the stern business of reconstruction? The French people will answer

that it has a most important place. Upon the present children of France will rest a staggering burden. The birth-rate, which was too low before the war, has been cut in half. *Two million* of the younger men have been killed or permanently injured. Children such as those told of below must bear the burden of a debt-burdened, war-drained country.

"All the heroic, buoyant spirit that has preserved France in the past will be required. For three years the spirits of these children have been crushed under the weight of a calamity they could not understand. Occasions such as that described below help to produce a normal childhood in preparation for the tasks ahead."

Parvin M. Russell writes from Gruny, Somme, France, 12—30—1917:—

"To begin with, the little school here had to be discontinued when the Germans took possession in 1914, and since they almost demolished it when leaving last spring, one of our first steps was to rebuild the large holes in the brick walls, put on a good slate roof and replace the broken windows and doors. As a result, school was started again this fall in one small room, the teacher using a table for herself, having neither books nor blackboard, very few pencils or other equipment—not even a separate chair for herself, and the children ranging from about 5 to 12 years, all together and seated on plain benches with no back supports (except that they might lean against the wall) and with nothing to write on except several old flat top tables. To add to the difficulties of equipment and environment, you may imagine what a proposition it was to handle the older children who had experienced nothing more than a desultory sort of home discipline for three years. Practically none of the older children could read, and progress was of course exceedingly slow. But with time a much larger room was put in shape, accommodating a number of nice new desks of graded sizes, the walls had been whitewashed to improve the light, and about two weeks before Christmas the school moved into the new room. It was almost pathetic

that in the necessary haste of preparing for them, we could only put up a long board with a number of nails in it as a coat rack, but of course it is the essential usefulness that counts and not appearances, now. Then a consignment of new books arrived, and other equipment, putting the school on a working basis once more, and all as a precedent for our Christmas party!

PREPARATIONS FOR CHRISTMAS

"Four of the fellows in our group here had received a considerable sum of money from some friends in New York, to provide a real Christmas for the children of the village. Plans had been arranged well in advance, and one of the boys had gone to Paris to obtain the necessary gifts, useful and entertaining.

"Snow came. A series of deep frosts followed, and a bright moon came at night. The ruined village was lost; in its place we saw quaint Christmas-card pictures, with impossibly bright moonlight, and little cottages snuggling down into the snow, their single lights twinkling like stars of inside warmth and hospitality. In spite of the wrecks under the snow, it seemed like Christmas.

"It came time to open the mysterious black-papered bundles of toys that Murray had brought from Paris. Our dining-room tables were loaded down with great heaps of dolls and sail-boats and toy animals and horns. Less conspicuous, but equally Christmasy were the toy watches, and real watches (for a few older children), the pocket knives and the scissors. In great colored heaps were the good practical knitted caps, sweaters, mittens and stockings sent from home. Each child was to have a set, and a handkerchief and a cake of soap.

"Mademoiselle, the school-mistress, gave us all the children's names, and we knew them well enough to put the right things in the right bundles. By the end of the evening the toy shop had disappeared and in its stead was a pile of thirty-seven goodly bundles, each bearing a name and a picture card with 'Bon Noël.'

"Talk at meals for several days was largely concerned with the problem, Would it be right to take a certain spruce from behind a certain ruined house. The night the paper chains were made for the Christmas tree—(not the spruce after all, but a tall cedar)—the dining-room saw a strange sight. Hands hardened by axes and hammers were pasting little strips of gold and silver paper—these great big fellows were returning to their kindergarten days, preparing the Christmas party.

"The party was on Christmas eve. The day before a load of our fellows arrived from Ham. It was a home-coming for some of them, for our *équipe* is very much of a family, and if you leave, you're glad to come back even for a visit. They were kept busy; some men decorating the school-room with evergreen boughs, others carrying chairs, others rehearsing the musical part of the program, another group working on the odds and ends for next day's dinner—seeding raisins, cracking nuts, peeling chestnuts. The boys kept me busy giving them jobs—they ranged from grinding dry bread in a coffee mill to plucking pinfeathers out of the turkeys with pincers!

"And finally two o'clock arrived—evening begins early in this dark and wintry country. Well ahead of time, Gruny had assembled in the *'Ecole Communale,'* it was the first time in three years. *Three Christmases had gone uncelebrated and now three nations were celebrating Christmas together.* No wonder the children in the front rows were thrilled and restless for things to start! No wonder the rows and rows of benches were crowded with best shawls and Sunday 'kerchiefs.

"Music started the program. It is surprising how these children enjoy music; ordinarily, the music alone would have quite contented them, but how can you sit perfectly still when your mind is filled with your recitation and your curiosity as to the contents of those packages under that Christmas tree?

"The little tots, standing on their chairs in front so as not to be hidden, turned to face the audience and began their part with a song. Then came recitations, most of them short, but spoken with fine spirit and expression. I kept wondering if

Americans so young could do so well. One of the girls who showed grave signs of stage-fright heard her mother's cheerful advice from the back of the room: *'Ne pleures pas!'*—(Don't cry!)

"Best of all was a little girl so tiny that she had to be stood on a chair to be seen. Without fear, and unprompted, she told the story of her little finger, which she held up as high as her general chubbiness would permit.

"Much as we enjoyed the performances of the children, however, it was none other than the Mayor who afforded us the most genuine amusement of the day. One of our men, Parnell, was performing a number of tricks, among which was the feature of apparently swallowing a dozen needles, and a yard of thread, separately, and then drawing the thread out with the needles, all dangling from it, neatly threaded. There was not a face but was blank with amazement and wonder, but the Mayor with all dignity forsaken leaned forward with mouth wide open, and with tongue describing the most comical movements as the needles, one after another, issued from Parnell's lips. That picture will only die with memory itself.

GIFTS ARE DISTRIBUTED

"When the moment came for the distribution of the gifts, thirty-five boys and girls were transported into a state of anxious ecstasy, for although the bundles had been carefully prepared and each one labeled with a name, who could not tell but that one name might have been lost or one bundle misplaced? So the little hearts thumped and the fears grew, as one after another the names were called, and the packages beneath the tree became fewer and fewer, but how the waiting faces lit up at the sound of their respective names, and how the little forms forsook their places with the alacrity of corn in the popper when all the fears of a possible disappointment dissolved in an armful of wonders!

"Then we learned what French 'compliments' are. A little girl stood up and read, with the sincerity of real appreciation,

a statement of appreciation and thanks on behalf of the school children; an older girl read a similar document on behalf of 'les civiles,' and finally quite unexpectedly, the Mayor arose with a 'compliment' of his own writing which he read in the name of the Commune, with a deep sincerity. It was a beautiful statement; one that moistened the eyes of many of the people. We all prize this very highly; besides expressing appreciation for the actual labors of our hands, it shows an understanding of the fundamental reason for our coming.

"Little bags of candy were there for the children, and little tarts for their parents; and before we sang 'America,' it was announced that one sack of potatoes for each family was waiting at the Agricultural *équipe*. As the people went out, each and every one shook hands with each of us near the door, and they were grateful handshakes on both sides! We had initiated the party; Gruny had given us its Christmas blessing.

"None of us knows the story of the opening of the presents —that happened about the home fires."

The sequel to the Christmas celebration at Gruny is one that throws a charming light on the gratitude of the French and the warm relations of friendship that had been established between them and the Relief workers.

One of the workers tells.

"of happy children who came to pay party calls next day, and the Mayor's wife says to us, 'And when the children are happy, it makes the mothers happy too.'

"The children went into the church and had a grand christening of their dolls on Christmas afternoon; they had mass and vespers—then the baptism, with priest and godparents and parents. Each child named her doll after herself with an 'ine' added:—Marcello, Marcelline; Isabel, Isabelline. It grew dark before they were done, but they found one candle to light them to the end. None of us saw it, but the children came to tell about it afterward."

"The kids kept telling us they were coming to see us New Year's Day. . . . I tried to put them off, because I knew it would interfere with work to have a bunch of kids around the house. . . .

"When I came back from my rounds New Year's afternoon there they were, fifteen or twenty kids sitting in a circle, perfectly still, their legs dangling from their chairs. There was a mumble of *'Bonne année'* and *'Bonne santé, M'sieur Victor'* as I came in; then they sat down again and relapsed into their former grinning silence. Every time one of the fellows came in, they all stood up to greet him and wish him a happy New Year; then they would all sit down again with the same mysterious unanimity.

"Suddenly they all stood up. One little girl, Andrée Gambart, took an envelope out of her pocket, and read a *'compliment'*— a tribute to us written in the most formal style. I've got it here. She tucked it back in its envelope and presented it to us with a bow. Then a little boy, Fernand Caron, read and presented another.

"This is Andrée's:—

"'Gentlemen and dear benefactors: — In the name of my family, deeply touched by your goodness to the children of Gruny, and in my own name, I come to-day on the threshold of the New Year, to address to you my most sincere wishes for a Happy New Year. My greatest thanks for the happy Christmas which you gave us, which made us forget the three preceding years, passed in the midst of the barbarians. Although my pen is feeble, believe, dear benefactors, that these thanks come from the bottom of my heart. May the New Year bring us victory and peace, so that the place of the absent ones may be filled at our hearthsides, and let us hope that the next Christmas will be celebrated by the families all together.

"'Once more, dear benefactors, with my most sincere wishes for the New Year, I thank you.

'ANDRÉE GAMBART.'

"And this is Fernand's: —

"'Our Very Dear Allies: — By means of this sheet of paper

we come to wish you, I as well as my sisters and my family, not forgetting the whole population of Gruny,—we come to wish you all a good year and perfect health, and to give you our thanks for the toys and delicacies which you have given us, and our dear comrades, and for the Christmas tree you have made for us, and for the happy day that we had all together in our school-house at Gruny, the school-house which you, dear Americans, rebuilt. Let us hope that the year 1918 will be happier for us than those which preceded, and that this war, which causes so much suffering, so much sorrow, and so many tears throughout the world, will soon be over, returning our valiant soldiers, as well as you, dear Americans, and our dear English, who have crossed the sea to deliver our France from Prussian barbarians, to their homes. But we, like the other people of Gruny, don't know how to thank you for the devotion which you have shown, dear Americans, and our dear English, in leaving your home lands to deliver France from the claws of the barbarians. But from the bottom of our hearts we wish that the war may end this year, so that every one can go home again.

"'Receive, dear Americans, our sincere salutations, and the heartiest thanks of my family.

"'FERNAND CARON.'"

Before the day was over, said the man from Gruny, we had had forty visitors and seven "*compliments.*"

It was not only for exceptional kindnesses and treats that these "*compliments*" were penned as acknowledgment. The daily round, the common task had furnished innumerable opportunities for the men who were there to look for opportunities to give help and comfort.

"Some days they gave us a lot to do. I was putting in a window in the school-house one day when a mother came running up excitedly crying that her baby was dying. As a matter of fact, the baby was in convulsions, but they were due to cutting teeth—not serious at all. I succeeded in quieting the

mother, and that quieted the child. But the mother has been convinced ever since that I saved the baby's life.

"That same evening, just after supper, in came a Frenchman stumbling in excitement. 'Come quick,' he said; 'Jeanne is dying.'

"Jeanne was his twelve-year-old daughter; she had been sick, very sick; and she kept sick because she would not stay in bed. I hurried over there, and found the household in an awful shape. There were the mother and five kids, one girl of sixteen,—the most excitable creature imaginable;—Jeanne; and three little ones, all crying. Jeanne was back in bed. Her mother told me she had had convulsions and nearly died. She really was sick—some kidney trouble; her hands, feet and face were all swollen. I stayed and worked over her until after one, with hot packs and compresses, and finally got her quieted. After that I used to go and see her every day. Just before I left Jeanne's mother came to me and said, 'You've saved Jeanne's life and my life too.' (She had an infected foot, which I used to dress every day.) 'What shall we do without you?'

"That sort of thing makes it worth while."

Readiness for sudden emergency was one of the qualities demanded of the Relief worker, whatever his specialty of work might normally be. Imagine the organizing power and adaptability required of the Bettancourt *équipe* when they had to prepare at a moment's notice for the reception of over sixty children evacuated from Bar-le-Duc on account of increased bombardment. No telegraphing for supplies to come in by Express—what was already stretched to what seemed its utmost limit had to be made to go further, and the district ransacked for makeshift material. Moreover, men whose hands seemed already occupied to the full and more, had to find time to bathe and discipline the motley crowd of boys, while the women workers had to accept the girls as part of their day's work.

"The family were taken for a walk every possible afternoon by two preceptors. One brought up the rear with a fat black-pinafored twin on each side, and the other skirmished lightly up and down the road, trying to guard the communal apple-trees that lined it. It took an agile man to do this—as easily keep a swarm of bees off honey; but to the credit of the preceptors be it said that in time and after kindly discipline the boys would pass an apple-tree and only glean the fallen ones. . . . It was amazing how many apples they could eat and be no worse—saving only one twin, who made his suffering so audible one night that he had to be carried down to the fire and warmed and comforted."

This crush only lasted for about three weeks, and then the children moved on and Bettancourt resumed its wonted calm of regular work. Another curious piece of emergency work was the evacuating of the Amiens Insane Asylum, and the conveying of 800 insane patients from Amiens to a refuge up in the Pyrenees. This work was given to the American Red Cross by the French Department of the Interior, and was immediately turned over by them to the Friends Unit.

W. H. writes, first from Paris:

"All well and safe so far. We have had an exciting experience carrying wounded soldiers and helping fugitive civilians with shells dropping down like hail. Dodging them is anything but pleasant. My ears are still a bit deaf from the noise. Groups have been formed who will take fugitive trains as they pass through Paris and go with them to some village in southern France. There we will help arrange for food and lodging, then return for another train. Others of us are still north with the American Red Cross.

"I just returned from a big hunt for canteen materials to feed

the refugees. A report just in of a thousand refugees to be housed to-night. Something new happens every minute. . . .

"Again on the move. I am now at Lourdes, in the Pyrenees Mountains. High, snow-capped mountains rise on every side. What a change it is from the flat Somme. Not many hours after I last wrote from Paris, a call came for help in conveying and placing some 800 insane refugees down here. So O. S., C. M., I. H., six others and myself responded to the emergency call, though all were dead tired.

"After leaving Bordeaux we passed through miles of pine. We had to stand, all this part of the journey, which lasted five hours."

Then two engines hooked on, and the train began to climb up into the Pyrenees, the scenery increasing in beauty and majesty every hour.

"We arrived at Lourdes at 6:30, the sun still thirty degrees above the horizon. We had a good supper and then reported at the hospital, where we had the pleasant job of helping the insane patients to bed. The long ride had made them quite wild. Some had had to be strait-jacketed on the road. In general, all they needed was leading. About half of them are women. Most of the men are soldiers, and are suffering from shell-shock. Our job now is to guard the place at night, as there are no bars to the windows.

"This is the strangest job and with the strangest people I have ever seen. Lourdes is a famous Catholic center for missions. The waters here are supposed to heal all diseases. Fine church bells peal in the mountain air continually. The early part of last night I was on outside watch. Every fifteen minutes the chimes rang out. On a mountain across the way a cross stands illuminated all night.

"I tended lower hall in the early morning. A number of the men talked loudly in their sleep, and occasionally one would

get up and appear on the scene with practically no cover. We take him gently by the shoulders and lead him back to bed.

"This work is just temporary. In a week we shall have to move these men farther into the mountains, and then their nurses can take entire care of them. . . ."

The diary of C. M. adds the following details:

"Some little interest was aroused by a man who until yesterday had been working, but now for two days has been lying on his back quietly saying: 'Oh, la, la, I am dead.' Then looking at his fingers and stretching them in proof, 'No, I'm not dead.' Then again, 'Oh, I'm dead.' Over and over,—no sleep, no comfort. They have put his hands in socks to try to keep his attention off them.

"The place is quiet by ten. The head doctor has come around and chatted; said how sorry he was to have us leave him so soon; that our guarding has made a record unheard of. Not one escaped.

"11:30—The poor fellow who keeps thinking himself dead is quietly snoring. He can have no question as to his being alive now, for he has gotten up and refuses to lie down. He talks loudly and wildly. A second guard rushes down from upstairs. Two others follow. A more learned day-guard is called, and a Blue Sister appears. There is a struggle for a time; arms and legs bound do not hold him quiet; he keeps talking, shouting; then sobs a bit. They slap his face—(it doesn't look like very enlightened treatment—) and throw him to the floor. He is finally tied in bed; water dashed in his face. He talks so excitedly that his bed is taken into the hall.

"2:30—He kept talking a long time but has quieted down now.

"6:00—The change of guards. It hardly is light, but the day doorman soon appears, and the key is being handed over. We set out for *petit déjeûner* and bed."

CHAPTER XV

BUILDING AND RECONSTRUCTION

LAST summer on my farm in Maine I was cutting down a large hemlock tree one day by the shore of the lake. As I cut into the hollow center of the great tree I found that I had unexpectedly invaded the home of a million ants. The ax smote unpityingly through their habitation and produced a scene of wild commotion. Many of them were cut in two by the sudden blow of the ax. Their eggs were crushed beyond repair. Their provisions for the winter were thrown in all directions. There was a mad scramble for safety. Every ant started to go somewhere, carrying something as though it had all been arranged in advance. It was a refugee exodus in great numbers, though the individuals were of pigmy size, with little forecast of the woes to follow.

In my sorrow for what I had unwittingly done I thought at once of the corresponding scenes on a larger scale when the great drives of the war smote down through the quiet, happy towns and villages of the Marne, the Meuse, the Aisne, the Somme and many another section of northern France. The shells which fell upon these homes left almost nothing standing. What the ax did for the tiny bodies of the ants the shells did for the women and the children who happened to be in the path of the fragments into which the shells were blown. A similar exodus followed. There was a wild rush for the precious things of the household and

such a procession as only war can produce streamed south from every hamlet. Carts drawn by donkey, dog or cow carried children, bedding and the few things saved in the frightened hurry. There were pitiable separations. Invalids were left behind, too ill to go. Tragedies were enacted which wrote themselves ineffaceably on the tablets of human hearts. At first, as soon as it became safe to do so, the refugees crept back to live in the cellars or amid the ruins of their beloved villages, but the experiment proved costly. The cellar life and the terrible exposures to weather produced a great amount of tuberculosis and kindred diseases. Gradually the authorities forbade the refugees to return to their villages until they had suitable homes to live in. This situation gave us our *call.*

The house building work was well under way before the American Unit arrived but we were able to give it great expansion by bringing on the scene a large group of efficient house-builders. The first factory—the one in operation when we came in—was at Dôle, in the Jura. This is a very interesting, picturesque town on the swift-flowing Doubs. It was here, in a little street which now bears his name, that Pasteur was born. When the war broke upon them the people of the town were building a large impressive school-building, the solid stone walls of which were one story high, when all the men were suddenly called to mobilize These walls were roofed over by the English Friends and here a house-building factory was constructed. Barracks were put in an open field about a mile from the factory for the living quarters of the workers, and here about fifty men settled in to make portable houses after a well-chosen design. The lumber was supplied by the government and came in by trains from the forests of Alpine foothills, not far away. The houses were generally of three

rooms, though as they were built in sections they could be either larger or smaller as need dictated. They were made of planed matched boards and were double with an air space between the outer and inner boards. The floors, too, were matched with tongue and groove. The roofs were built to take tile covering, the latter being supplied from the region where the house was to be set up. They were well supplied with windows and doors and when they were constructed they were stained a pretty brown to fit the roof-tiles.

While the men were training at Haverford J. Henry Scattergood and some of the English workers planned another factory at Ornans, in the department of Doubs. They found and got the rent of an automobile factory on the banks of the Loue which rushes through the town. They also took over an absinthe factory to serve as living quarters for the workers. A large part of the mill machinery was bought in America and was a part of the material which got hung up in the shipping jam at the time when our first body of workers went over. After heart-breaking delays, however, the machinery finally arrived and was installed by our men under the direction of Philip Hussey with Leslie Heath in charge of electric work. A factory for doors and windows was also provided across the stream from the larger mill. Ornans was beautifully situated in the French foothills of the Alps, about fifteen miles from Besançon. The town was not large, but attractive and contained many interesting families. Here about fifty men of the Mission, at first mostly Americans, worked at houses, doors and windows. Here is a fine poem, written by one of the men, L. Griswold Williams, which well expresses the spirit of the workers:

THE FRIENDS RECONSTRUCTION UNIT—THE MANUFACTURING DEPARTMENT

I've been making windows—
Oak windows in our shop along the river—
Thinking of where they'll go and what they'll maybe do:
  Windows to overlook the crumpled roofs of clattering towns,
  To open out across the silent wastedness of trampled farms,
  On white-scarred vineyard slopes,
  Or shattered woodlands healing at the touch of Spring.

Some may be gates of magic liberation,
Giving on living worlds of leaf and sky,
Where those whose feet can never tread dear earth
Shall send their spirits wandering far;
At these will children climb to greet the infant moon,
Or press their noses tight, watching the first snow feathers fall;
Through here may little breaths of morning murmur;
This humble shrine day's glowing altar fires. . . .

And I've been making doors—
  Doors that shall open as a sheltering hand to harassed hearts
  Praying a solace in some broken place;
  Doors guarding at last those helpless ones
  Guns could not guard nor armies make secure.

Here homing age may fumble at a lock,
Or venturing youth push wide with eager hand;
This door may usher Birth with hopefulness,
Close quietly when Death has passed with friendly eyes,
Or part relentlessly two lovers, lingering with reluctant lips at dusk;
Here may a woman lean with shadowed face,
Waiting a lad—who lies in an untilled field. . . .

I've not made doors and windows for châteaux or palaces—
Only for little wooden *démontables*
To shelter mostly simple folk
Dripped from the grinding jaws of War.
Red tiles will be for roof, the walls be brown, and green the white-knobbed doors.
The sections bolt together easily,
As barren as a shed for animals almost,
Until my doors and windows make it—Home. . . .

O patient Master Workman of the world,
Shaper of all this home of humankind!
Teach me the truer trade of making doors and windows for men's souls:
Windows for letting in Love's widening dawn,
Doors swinging outward freely on Truth's pleasant ways.

Each factory was under a directing head who was elected by the workers themselves and approved by the Paris Executive. The body of workers in their living quarters were under the care and oversight of the *chef d' équipe* who, again, was elected by the men. They were far from the exciting world of Paris or the war-zones and sometimes the work and the life must have seemed dull and routine, but they had gone over to express their faith and love and most of them accepted the conditions in loyal spirit and worked with all their might. They had plenty to eat, though it was plain and plainly served, but the fellowship and comradeship gave a very fine flavor to the life.

Sometimes it was difficult to deliver the houses from the factories without long delays in the railroad transit, owing to the ease with which freight cars can be shunted off on side tracks, and forgotten. To avoid this contingency, so distressing when the workers in the war-zones were eagerly waiting for them to arrive, men were occasionally asked to

volunteer to take the trip on top of the load of houses from the factory to the point of destination. There were always plenty of men keen and ready for this freight-expedition which had neither Pullman nor dining-car facilities! But when a member of the Mission was on the load the car was not shunted to a side track.

The work in the factories was pushed along at the best available speed, sometimes with night shift of workers, but even so the houses could not be turned out fast enough to supply the demand of the returning refugees or of the building department. To meet the emergency, arising after the signing of the armistice, the reconstruction department of the French government promised the Mission a supply of two thousand portable houses to supplement our own output. Only a part of this number were actually received and that, too, after a long wait, but the assistance to our work was very valuable. This arrangement enabled the Mission to close down the factory at Ornans (and later at Dôle) and turn in the men of these two *équipes* to help in the work of the zones where the actual reconstruction was going forward.

The new men as they arrived from America were pretty generally sent first to Dôle or Ornans to have an apprentice period at manufacturing houses unless they had outstanding gifts and qualifications which plainly marked them out for a special piece of work just then waiting to be done. As the new men came into the manufacturing *équipes* the older workers, who had served their turn of manufacturing on the banks of the Doubs or the Loue, were told off for some other task in Paris or in the devastated areas, so that Dôle and Ornans always had a somewhat shifting population of workers. Thus a very large number of our entire group of men in the Mission had a longer or shorter period of

life in Dôle or Ornans and had some part in the making of houses.

The building department had a wholly different task and a very different life. The workers in this department went out often to the very frontiers of civilian life. They were quartered not seldom in the midst of débris and in a silent, deserted world where havoc had worked its full measure of desolation. Sometimes they repaired broken roofs and made half-destroyed houses habitable, sometimes they found no houses complete enough to warrant repairs. Their main work was the construction of demountable houses, furnished to them by the manufacturing department and the transport department. The parts of the houses came in on motor trucks from the nearest railway center and the builders "did the rest."

To rebuild the school and provide a teacher was one of the first tasks undertaken by the Friends in Gruny, a specimen village. A passer-by gives a glimpse of the building work:

". . . We saw two more brown-overalled figures, H. and M., with arm loads of sound boards which they had filched out of the remnants of a completely destroyed house and were carrying over to the house they were repairing. It didn't look much of a home, that house. But when you studied it a bit more closely, and saw how much had already been done, you appreciated what the boys were doing. They had had to put in a new I-beam, and half the roof was slated. They had patched up broken parts of the wall and gradually that house was becoming habitable. As fast as the houses are finished the *sous-préfet* sends in another refugee family. . . .

"Down a side-road we caught a glimpse of some more Friend boys, English and American, busily cleaning bricks to finish a side-wall which was nearly completed. They pointed out half-a-dozen near-by houses with roofs patched with slates of a darker

color, brought from the other end of the village, where the destruction had been much worse. . . .

"When you give a family even a tiny two-roomed shelter to live in where there was nothing but a heap of dust and a few jagged bits of stone and plaster, you have given it something to call home."

The new hope and cheer brought into the lives of these peasants by the presence and work of the Friends is something that cannot be measured by counting a few hundred houses repaired or set up in a wilderness of desolation; yet in many places a beautiful wilderness, for grass and wild flowers began to cover all scars, and the roses and nasturtiums and asters began to flower luxuriantly in the ruined gardens. "What was under the ground" war could not kill.

"It is splendid," writes another worker, "to see things getting done; jobs being finished—and finished in such a way that they are neither blots on the landscape nor obviously repairs. I'm thinking specially of one slate roof that was in a most hopelessly moth-eaten condition—now it looks as if nothing had happened—even lichens are growing on the slates. It will be that way with much of our work; although it will not be so easy to show off or point to what we have done—it is far more satisfying to think of healing without leaving conspicuous scars.

"The school-house is one of the biggest jobs—and the first one to be undertaken. It was very badly damaged and is requiring a lot of brickwork. P., an Englishman, is a professional mason; he has been working hard at this; yet you do not notice the new work at all without careful examination of the mortar. They had a little ceremony of a corner-stone when the work was first begun. The neighborhood was invited, and the Mayor read a document composed for the occasion, explaining the work of the Friends, and proposing to place a tablet on the spot later on. A cent, an English penny, and a French sou were put in the wall,





Building Demountable Houses

along with a copy of the Mayor's speech signed by all witnesses. Another copy of this is held by the Mayor."

In many villages it was not felt to be desirable to put the new houses on the sites of the old ones, since the owners usually preferred to leave the ruins undisturbed until their indemnity had been settled. Indemnities were always in their minds, and they believed, probably rightly, that great heaps of ruin would make a much stronger appeal upon the indemnity officials than would a pretty new cottage! In cases where the houses were not desired on the old spot, an attractive location was selected near the former village and a new *cité* was built, consisting usually of a main street with rows of houses on either side, not far separated from each other. The number of houses to be built was generally determined by the mayor of the village if he could be found. He would make lists of existing families, or parts of families large enough to occupy a house. The Curé of the local church also had intimate knowledge of the little community and could assist, as he almost always did, in the plans for reconstruction.

The foundations of the cottages were carefully laid and then when the loads of house-parts arrived—which they did not always do at the expected date!—the men worked like beavers putting them up. They became great experts at this job. Sometimes a group of them "raced" with another near-by group to see which could get its house done first. But hurry did not mean faulty work. The houses were built "on honor" and every part of every one had to be right. Labor hours were not shortened to the modern scale nor was the speed of work the sort one has learned to expect from laborers. Where volunteers labor under the incentive of love there is sure to be drive and energy as there certainly

was in this case. I have already spoken of the Marne and the Somme and the two large regions of reconstruction before the work of the "Verdun area" was undertaken. There was besides a quite extensive work in what may be called the Châtillon district. It lies about half way between Château-Thierry and Rheims—a beautiful ridge of fertile country abounding in vineyards and excellent for wheat. Our men began their work for this region first at Château-Thierry itself, soon after the famous battle. Then Châtillon-sur-Marne became the central *équipe* for a large surrounding district which had suffered terribly during the great drive and retreat. Everything had gone down before the big shells and homes no longer existed. As usual there was a combination of construction work, relief work and agricultural work, but the great need was for homes so that the peasants could come back and re-cultivate their rich soil. Many of the vineyards had been ruined by poison gases and the land needed quick attention. The important centres for reconstruction in this district were Châtillon itself, Verneuil, Olizy, Cuchery, Champlat, Chaumuzy and the famous battle town, Ville-en-Tardenois. Some of the houses were repaired and re-roofed. In other cases new houses were built after the manner already described. The work in this region was pushed rapidly forward, lasting only through the winter following the armistice when the men went on to join in the great concentrated tasks laid upon us in the Meuse, i. e. the Verdun region lying between the city of Verdun on the east and the western margin of the Argonne forest. I shall have more to say of building in the next chapter which relates to this crowning work of the Mission.

One of the most beautiful features of this construction work was the transforming effect which it had upon the vil-

lage people to whom the relief came. Leland Hadley has given a glimpse of this in one of his home letters. Writing from Gruny, he says:

"The French people have lost a lot of their grouch since our bunch arrived on the scene. You can't look anywhere without seeing some of us and we're always singing, laughing, yelling from house to house and having a good time while working. Naturally enough it has loosened the natives up considerably. But the best thing to see is the way the children have relaxed since school has started again after being closed for three years. They come out of school in the evenings—all the little girls with their hair braided and black dresses; and the boys with little gingham aprons covering them from shoulder to knee, except that they only button to the waist in back; and with little blue hats built on the same model as those of the soldiers of France—they come out of school and actually play, pulling each other in carts, etc. When we first came nothing like that was ever seen."

Another interesting picture is given in a story which had wide circulation during the war and which presents an early incident in the Quaker reconstruction work:

Into one of the ruined villages of France, razed and desolated by the Germans in their retreat, says the *World Outlook,* came one day a party of the "Men in Gray," the Friends, or Quakers, of England, who, although their religion will not permit them to fight, are spending their strength to restore the ravages of fighting.

In that village lived Marie, who in the pleasant days before the war had dwelt happily with her father and mother, her old grandmother and baby brother, in a comfortable red-roofed cottage. Now the father was at the front, the cottage was burned, and the lonely, frightened, half-starved family of four had taken refuge in the corner of a cellar.

When Marie saw the "Men in Gray" she took courage. She

had heard of the wonderful things done by those quiet Englishmen with the red and black star on their sleeves. Moreover, she was rich. She had six sous, and was therefore in a position to undertake a real estate negotiation.

"Maman," she said to her mother, "would not the 'Men in Gray' build us a cottage for my six sous?"

"Non, non," said the mother.

But Marie persisted. "I will ask them," she announced.

"You must not trouble them. They would laugh at you," the weary, sad mother told the little girl; but Marie had the dauntless spirit of the women of France, and she was tired of the dark, damp cellar, where Grandmère coughed all night, and where there was no furniture, only rags to lie on. So with her six sous tight in her hand, she stole forth and sought the "Men in Gray."

"Sir," she said to the one who met her, "could you build a cottage with a living-room, kitchen and bed-room for Grandmère, maman, my brother and me? Could you do it for six sous? See, I have the money." She opened her hand and showed the coins. "Is it enough?"

The tall Friend never smiled. "Quite enough," he said; "in fact, I think it can be done with four sous. We will build it at once."

Marie got her cottage, a comfortable shelter, with beds and all necessaries in it, and when everything was complete the "Man in Gray" collected the four sous with all the formality of completing a large transaction.

In a world where so many humans seemed to have turned into devils, doing things that we supposed human beings had climbed far above, incidents like these are very cheering. They are an earnest that when peace has returned not only will the desolated regions be restored as well as modern skill and labor can restore them, but the work will be done with gentleness and with tact.

Few of the men were trained builders—indeed, the majority were college bred for some more mental profession,—

and the picturesque old roofs had shaky lath foundations underneath their charming gables.

"If there is anything more discouraging than to repair an old shrapnel-ruined slate roof I don't know it; your ladder in the first place, although the roofs have a very steep pitch, seems to break as many slates as it touches, and as soon as you begin on a hole it opens up in a tremendously impressive way. Then it is very slow work to slip slates under others and make them tight, for the sheathing is stuck full of rusty old nails that have held up slate before, and one's fingers suffer. But there is a great satisfaction in making somebody comfortable for the winter, and I hope I can do a decent job for this poor old lady. She has two sons and a grandson fighting and lives by herself, and is a most bustling and stirring person. . . . Like everyone else, she has a bomb-proof shelter constructed in her front yard, and very little else but her cat, her goat, and the ruins of a fine barn.

". . . I hope to make a water-tight roof, but the cold, the rain and the early darkness all combine to make it a very mean job.

"Moreover, of course, we have to do a good many menial jobs to keep the place going. Yesterday, for instance, E. Z. and I put in the whole day sawing and chopping wood to cook by. . . . We take it in turns to get breakfast, getting up at 5 or 5:30 and making porridge, tea and coffee, which is served at seven o'clock."

As for food:

"We generally have a good, generous soup, and vegetables—potatoes, peas, macaroni, tomatoes,—and a filling pudding. Sometimes we can get meat.

"Yesterday I went out to glaze some windows for our cook's house. All the glass was gone and she had taken down the frames. All French windows are casement, opening inward. She had patched up a window with German wire glass and a small single sash, probably German. Well, of course, the first thing

I did was to put in the glass, then I tore down her patchwork and hung the sash, but alas, they wouldn't shut—they had been in the weather too long and had warped so they interfered with each other. It was too much like cabinet work for me, and I had to call for help, and we were two hours planing and fitting to get them shut. Most of the time we were surrounded by children, counting in English, German and French, and discussing the coming Christmas party. . . . To-day I went back and put up the cook's patchwork window in another room. . . . After that I spent the rest of the day glazing the sash in a soldier's house which is at present entirely deserted, but whenever he gets leave he comes home to patch it up as he wants his wife to live in it as soon as possible. It is not badly damaged, but needs a good deal of plastering and glazing. Glazing is rather ticklish work, as the glass furnished by the government is very thin and brittle and is not cut to exact measure but generally is just enough too large to make it necessary to trim the wood as you can hardly cut a thin strip off the glass. Then you dull your chisel on concealed nails. Also the old frames are warped and out of line, and hard to fit. This soldier's house is a poor man's house, the walls being one layer of brick plastered on the outside with mud and straw, with a thin coat of plaster over that. He is trying to get two rooms in order and let the rest go for the present, and I was able to get all the panes of glass in but one to-day."

Opportunities for Relief work often presented themselves to the builders, getting into close touch as they did with the lives of the people among whom they worked.

"I find our washerwoman is absolutely destitute. She owns a stove, and is living in one room with two little girls. The room is about ten by fifteen. They have only the stove, one bed, and the clothes they stand in. The furniture belonged to a woman who is now a prisoner in Germany. A small pension as a soldier's widow is the main source of support. The mother is a hard-working, honest woman. I have undertaken to provide her with

an outfit after talking her case over with the *Maire,* and last night after she had washed the dishes I had her in my room, and with the help of a dictionary we drew up a list of what she ought to have. You should have seen the delight of the little girl at the thought of having a separate bed. The three of them are sleeping in one bed now. . . . The mother is very hopeful about the future, and hopes to get a decent house to live in. At present, as she owns no house or land, we can't do anything for her in the way of more commodious shelter."

The co-operation and friendliness shown in this account and many others as existing between the local *Maire* (Mayor) and the Friend workers is a very happy feature of the work. As one boy writes:

"The more I see of the *Maire* the more I am inclined to trust him and rely on his advice. He doesn't seem to play any favorites, and he rejoices with the people that we help, although he does want us to do some work for him. His house is in good condition, but his barn wants repairing; we of course have to devote ourselves to houses until we get roofs tight and every one in the Commune at least in a dry and fairly tight house."

The severe winter of 1917 was hard on the building work. The sections of the *maisons démontables* became warped by the cold before they could be erected, ice and snow had to be cleared away from the scene of labor in the discouraging gray morning before work could start; we read of the wash-house floor being covered with ice to greet early bathers, and icicles forming on unwary moustaches that poked out from sleeping-bags. One odd job that turned up was a result of the cold weather:

"Last week was about as cold as any weather we have had in Philadelphia. It snowed about a foot on the 16th, and began

to freeze hard, and it didn't melt a bit until last night. . . . We were asked to make a snow-plow by the *Maire,* and after strenuous work a very good plow was made and put into operation. The *Maire* sent three horses harnessed tandem and two men to drive them, and followed the plow all round the village on foot."

Charming "fathers of the village" these French *Maires.* Stories of the building work in the villages could be multiplied, but they all bear on much the same details as have been already indicated. Hard work, becoming more skilled as time went on, warm friendship, ripening with the days, help and comradeship in regions where these had become rare.

"The gay way," says one, "in which any one refers to any difficulty or privation they ask you to share with them—'Ca ne fait rien, c'est la guerre,' is very misleading. They don't consider the war gaily or joyously, it is a very serious and terrible state of affairs and cannot end too quickly and every one will say so, although no one has any formula for putting an end to it. Mme. Varley, whose house I had just finished, loaded my pockets up with apples that came from Normandy last summer, and very good they were, and then when I was leaving she tried to force a five franc note on me, and I had a terrible time persuading her that I couldn't take it. I had to put it on the backs of her hands and let it fall to the floor. My French is inadequate for such a situation, but we parted good friends all the same."

Those who were undertaking the perhaps less physically exacting but more monotonous work of manufacture at the Dôle and Ornans centers, did not neglect their opportunities to get into friendly touch with the people among whom they lived. Many of them took French lessons in different families, and so obtained entrance into the family circle and were presently able to share its pleasures and difficulties.

And Christmas parties for the children proved a wonderful opener of hearts, here as elsewhere.

In conclusion, it may be illuminating to quote "the star poem of the star grouch" as a summary of the difficulties with which the workers had to contend, the view of the men themselves as to what made their work worth while, the view of a French newspaper writer on the same subject, and the view of the American Red Cross.

THE STAR GROUCH REMARKS

The stopped-up drain;
  The smoky flue;
The inside pain;
  Too much to do.

The icy walk;
  The early night;
The foreign talk;
  The lack of light.

The air that's damp;
  The homely daughter;
O cold hard world:
  O cold hard water.

If that is not graphic and cheerful grumbling, what is? As to what they thought made the work worth while:

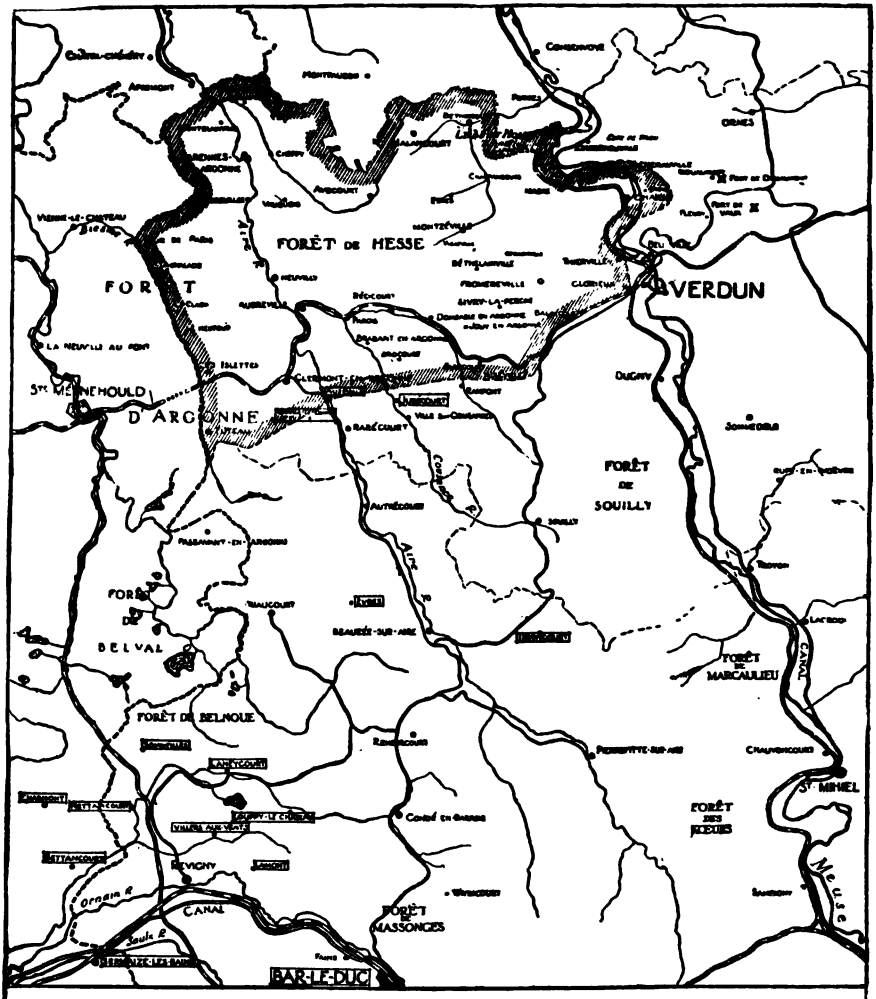
"You know, I think it would have been worth while for us to be there if we had never hung a single slate or mended one smashed wall. At first the people were suspicious of us; we were foreigners, and they didn't like us; then they were indifferent; but now we're real friends. . . .

"I think the thing that brings the little catch to the throat most often is to be greeted with loving smiles and handclasps

in villages in which one would imagine inhabitants could never smile again."

Carleton MacDowell, one of our American "boys," has well summed up the spirit of this work:

"We went to mend houses; but the reason we wanted to mend houses was that it would give us a chance to try to mend hearts. Much of our work on the houses has been lost; but I do not believe that any amount of cannonading will break down whatever influence we had on these people's hearts. We cannot say *how much* cheerfulness, hope and love we brought them—surely *some* reached them. I believe it possible that even now, when their troubles are keener than ever, their experience with us boys may somehow be giving them a little mental comfort. However that may be, the whole perplexing question of our coming will remain in the back of their minds. From time to time it will claim attention until finally a light dawns, until they finally realize why we came—why we crossed the ocean voluntarily, why we worked without pay, why in order to do this we were willing to leave our homes and our professions and take up jobs we never tried before. And when this answer once comes to them it will never be forgotten; in the intimate traditions of these families will be handed down the account of the little group of men who worked for strangers because of their belief in the Great Brotherhood."



THE VERDUN AREA

CHAPTER XVI

THE VERDUN PROJECT

NEVER before in the long military history of the human race has there been such fighting as that which took place on the hills and in the valleys around Verdun. It seems inconceivable that men of flesh and blood could endure such deeds and experiences as those which marked this amazing campaign. One who has been over Hill 304 and "Dead Man's Hill" and has seen the havoc wrought there wonders whether fear of death in human breasts is really any longer a fact. In any case an unparalleled slaughter of men and an equally unparalleled maiming of bodies occurred here, and in the fearful process the trees and even the soil of the land were shot and torn into hopeless ruin. The northern portion of the Argonne Forest suffered in similar fashion, while the strip of country on both sides of the main line of trenches running north of Verdun through the forest was made a desolate waste, the trees being shot often into frayed wood fiber. This region, with the less destroyed sections to the south of the trench line, our mission was officially asked to "reconstruct."

The workers of our mission in the Marne had pushed north their reconstruction "invasion" wherever there was an opening for them and had done a large amount of work even as far up toward the line as Jubécourt and Auzéville. Dr. Earp and Dr. Hinde had been pioneers in this region of desolation. This service in the villages near Verdun had deeply impressed the *Sous-Préfet* of the district as well as

the peasants. He knew that it would be important to have workers ready as soon as the region should be cleared of the forces of destruction and, with this in mind, he made a remarkable proposal to the mission as early as December, 1917. It was a call to Friends to take the sole charge of reconstruction and relief work in the district lying between Verdun and Clermont-en-Argonne. The boundaries were eventually greatly extended, as we shall see.

In his letter to the committee the *Sous-Préfet* says:

"With the financial assistance of the government, the society might establish at the base of this zone two receiving centers, say, at La Grange Lecomte, near Auzéville, and at Glorieux, in the suburbs of Verdun. These would include accommodation for members of the society, a hospital-infirmary, a canteen, dormitories, a nursery-school, and an office. The canteen would be arranged to feed the refugees on their return, materials being supplied by the government; and the dormitories would offer accommodations to such people as have no other shelter. The nursery-school, established for the benefit of the children belonging to the families so assisted, would be carried on by one or more members of the Public Education Staff. The refugees thus supported in a receiving center could be employed, partly for wages, and partly as a *quid pro quo,* as helpers in the necessary work of the center, or in work on the land adjoining.

BACK TO THEIR HOMES

"The society having established these centers and opened them in readiness for the return, would afterwards organize visits from the heads of families to the places with which they were concerned. This would be of special importance from the point of view of morale, inasmuch as individuals would not be alone when they first set foot again on their former property. So extensive is the devastation that they might otherwise be tempted to retrace their steps to exile in utter discouragement.

"The society would thus help the people to make decisions, would inspire them with a spirit of resolution, and create as between its own workers and the refugee families a sort of association in view of the great undertaking before them. Investigation should be made both as to the intentions of the families themselves, and the help available for them in the way of repairs to damaged property, temporary houses, equipment, implements and furniture. The chief aim in view should be that the family, in returning to their property, should not depend upon the help of the government for more than a limited time. There must be no such thing as centers of misery.

INVESTIGATIONS REQUIRED

"As this is an agricultural country, the state of the ground will need to be taken into account. If tillage is impossible for years to come, in view of the presence of unexploded bombs and the general upturning of the soil, the cultivation of sheep, goats or pigs on the waste lands might be suggested as an alternative. Inquiry should also be made as to the possibility of starting centers of home industry, or introducing toy and lace making, basket-weaving, embroidery, or leather work. The methods of industry anterior to the war will not be able to be resumed, hand-work and material being absent. It will be necessary to group the inhabitants of the same place, to coördinate their activity, and to lead them on unconsciously to the idea of coöperation, starting at first with coöperative supply in order to get rid of the middle-man. The people will get hold of the idea of the benefit of such a method, and will be led on towards coöperative production.

THE RESUMPTION OF INDUSTRY

"But the task of the society cannot end there. It will have got over the first two stages in the work of the return, having welcomed the family back to the devastated region, watched over it with solicitude, guided and encouraged it. Thanks to this persuasion, ruined buildings will be reconstructed and life begun

again among the ruins. Who then should be better able than the society to take the third step—that of reconstruction itself and the resumption of productive labor? With this object in view the receiving centers should become productive centers. A new form of collaboration should come into force between the society and the government, the former undertaking to start industries in the receiving centers and workshops in the vicinity, and in the neighborhood of the railways."

The *Sous-Préfet* proposed that the temporary houses of the district should be built of "concrete," composed of the pulverized ruins of the former houses mixed with cement or slag. This plan of construction fell through when the time came to build and the villages were finally supplied with our usual demountables. This call came just before New Year and before any steps could be taken to fulfil it, the great spring "drive" of 1918 upset all plans and delayed any thought of rebuilding the sections near the trench lines. The plan, however, never died out of mind. It was always a goal toward which the mission worked, and a year from the time when it was first made, it was on the point of becoming operative.

In May of 1918, when the dark had not begun to be broken with streamers of light, a member of the mission wrote: "The Verdun work makes a deep appeal to all of us. We have been invited to undertake not a piece of mere relief work, but the reconstruction of the social fabric of many villages. There will be a wide scope for building, relief, agriculture and medical work, while the organization of coöperative concerns, agricultural and industrial, in conjunction with the peasants, the workers and the French authorities, will open up a new sphere of activity to our workers. Our future can thus be concentrated. . . . May we not hope, too, that the friendship and sympathy built up

between our men and women—British and American—and the French people with whom they work will live on after the war is over, and form a living bond of understanding and fellowship between the three peoples."

The summer with its great events came and went and the autumn brought the armistice with something like the dawn. At once the Verdun project took on a fresh promise. The November executive meeting in Paris was largely occupied with a consideration of plans for the "invasion" of the northern area. The "concrete" houses were still a vital subject and plans were developing for the formation of coöperative stores to save the peasants from the "gold rushes" of selfish profiteers. T. Edmund Harvey, with his usual insight said: "To spread the spirit of coöperation and leave behind us coöperative institutions that will be more than ephemeral, will be time well spent."

In early January the work in the "Verdun area" was vigorously begun and the ten thousand refugees who were eager to return were looking to us in hope that home was once more to be real for them. The large farm with its extensive buildings which constituted the estate known as Grange-le-Compte was taken as headquarters of the mission and fitted up to house a large working force. Barracks had been left there by the American army which contributed materially to our welfare. It was conveniently located in reference to the area of work and from this center after March of 1919, the mission was managed and the lines of activity radiated out West, North and East, like the ribs of a fan. All the old departments except that of manufacturing were put into intensive operation, while a new feature, that of coöperative stores and the sale of the "Dumps" to be spoken of later, was introduced. These coöperative stores, managed by the department of

purchase and sales, did an immense business. During the six months from June to December the sales of farm supplies alone amounted to 560,786 francs and contained such items as the following: 18,000 chickens, 6,000 rabbits (which came too fast to be counted accurately), 460 goats, 698 sheep, 229 pigs, 87 cattle, 41 horses, and 626 bee colonies, with 360 more to be delivered.

The total sales in the coöperative stores for the seven months ending in July, 1919, amounted to more than 800,000 francs.

Even before Grange was ready with its central offices, little *équipes* of workers had been established in the ruined villages of the area. A center of relief was opened by a group of trained women workers at Ste. Menehould, a center of agriculture was started at Dombasle-en-Argonne, a unit of men had begun to repair the broken houses at Le Neufour and an *équipe* of house builders, all five of them Haverford graduates, was installed in a shattered building at Neuilly. Jubécourt which was a tiny bit below the southern edge of the new area was growing in considerable strength as a center of agriculture, repair of farm implements and breeding place for rabbits. This whole region belongs in the *arrondissement* of the Meuse, but I shall call it after the popular name associated with our original plan, "the Verdun area," much of it lies in the "Canton of Argonne" which is another familiar name for a section of this field. During the spring of 1919 the region was in the hands of the American army and American soldiers were quartered in many of the villages. Large numbers of German prisoners were also assigned to this section and were engaged primarily in rebuilding the roads. The American army had built a new railroad through the Argonne Forest and across the "area" to Verdun. At

five depots there were piled enormous "dumps" of material and supplies. This material covered many acres at each "dump" and consisted of lumber, bar-iron and steel, farm and road implements of every sort, miles upon miles of barbed wire and an almost indescribable melange of all material which might be useful in a modern war. J. Henry Scattergood who had a great part in working out the early plans for the joint mission had gone over again to France with me in December of 1918 and he remained after my return. He had a feeling that these "dumps" might be very useful in our work and might be got from the army on reasonable terms. While Charles J. Rhoads and J. Henry Scattergood and I were making a tour of the "area" in January we visited the head military official of the district, situated at Dombasle, and asked him to consider the possibility of letting us have the "dumps" for our French work of relief. He was very favorable to the idea and at once opened communication with the officers who had charge of their disposal. During the following weeks J. Henry Scattergood devoted much of his time to this project, ably assisted in the undertaking by Charles Rhoads and others. There were many hitches and delays, much cabling, telegraphing, writing, and personal visiting, but finally an offer was made by the officials who had the matter in hand and after serious consideration it was accepted. We thus came into possession of a vast amount of reconstruction material, adapted for the needs of the work. There was, however, at the same time a great deal more which we could not use ourselves. With rare ability and quick action the capable men who had arranged the purchase proceeded to dispose of the extensive surplus. The railroads of the section agreed to carry it for us free of freight charges and the department of the French Government in charge of German

prisoners let us have groups of them to sort and load the dump material. Sales, by agreement, could be made only within an area of fifty kilometers, but as it was offered at very low values, it sold rapidly, and was well disposed of. We had already established a large capital fund to be used for financing the system of coöperative stores already referred to. This capital fund had been furnished by large contributions from the London and Philadelphia offices. Into this fund the money from the sale of the "dumps" was put to be used over again in purchases for the coöperative business, and all that has accrued in this way will finally be put into permanent improvements for the benefit of the French people in the war zones. This sale of the "dumps" and the system of coöperative stores proved to be one of the greatest of all our forms of assistance. It gave the returning refugees an opportunity to furnish their houses and to stock their farms at the lowest possible cost. It was supposed that the great stock of barbed wire in the "dumps" would be like "coals to Newcastle" since the whole world of the war-zone was one great entanglement of barbed wire. But it was quickly discovered that this old rusty wire was useless. It could not be taken down from the entanglements and put up again where it was wanted without a great waste of time, nor could it be cut up and melted at advantage. In fact it was worse than worthless. The only thing to be done with it was to cut it up and bury it where the process of rust would some day eat it up. The result was that our barbed wire sold almost as well as though the armies had not left so much of it strung over the fields.

The work with the German prisoners was a strange and interesting experience, both for our workers and for the prisoners themselves. They worked for us on their honor

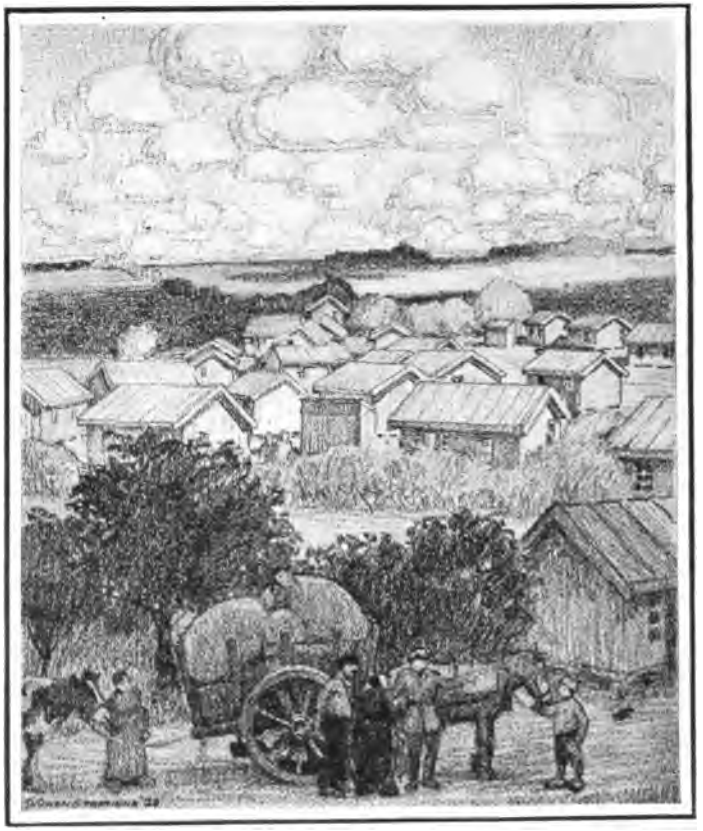
and so without guard. We agreed that if ever one of them escaped we would immediately return the entire group to the French authorities and cease to use them further. The prisoners were told this fact that if any one took advantage of the larger freedom which we gave them the work with us would come to an end. They promised to "play fair" and to keep the terms, and they usually kept their word. We fed them and gave them good food. So much did they appreciate the dinners they got that they preferred to work on holidays when they might have rested, since if they worked they knew they would get a good dinner. They became much attached to the members of the mission with whom they worked and the whole effect of the arrangement was excellent. As the mission did not feel that it was quite right to use without pay the labor of men who were not free to volunteer but were held against their will it was decided to seek out in Germany the families of all the prisoners who had worked for us and to make these families a present large enough to cover our estimate of the value of the labor which we received, which has been done.

In another way we were materially assisted in our later work by the interest and kindness of army officers. It had always been difficult to get a sufficient supply of motor cars and trucks for our service. In the spring of 1919 the officers in charge of the liquidation of army supplies in France gave us a free loan of all the cars and trucks we needed to finish up our work. There were nearly forty cars of various types in the loan. We were thus supplied with them free of all cost so long as we needed them for the mission. This generous assistance at once raised the efficiency of all our undertakings and enabled us to widen the sphere of activity.

There were some forty villages in the area originally as-

signed to us but the size of the area continually expanded as we worked. As soon as a village near the border of the area was "reconstructed" the Maire of the adjoining village across the border was pretty sure to urge the heads of the mission to take charge of *his* village and then the next one beyond would come. In this way the work extended far beyond our early expectation of its limits. It moved steadily north and northwest. In fact it reached out beyond the Meuse and went over into the department of Ardennes. Grand Pré and Châtel-Chéhéry and towns still farther north had units of the mission restoring their terrible wastes and desolations. Varennes, where Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette were captured on their flight from the French Revolution, a town full also of memories for American soldiers, was one of our star centers. Montfaucon, headquarters of the German Crown Prince during the Verdun "drive," a town smashed to fragments in the later stages of the war, was another center of Quaker activity. Even Esnes, so badly destroyed that the signs standing among its ruins bore the words: "This used to be Esnes," was helped back into life again. Boureuilles, hardly less spoiled than the two towns last named, and situated close to Vauquois, which was at least twice mined and blown actually out of existence, had its band of workers. Sainte Menehould, which the American soldiers could never learn to pronounce, was a relief center both for the town and the surrounding district. Les Islettes, a little island of cultivation in the heart of the Argonne Forest, had its *équipe* of Quaker workers. Seventy houses were built at Neuilly and the new town was officially named the *"Cité des Amis."* Eighty houses were built at Montfaucon amid the ruins of this ancient hill town.

A recent report from Wilmer J. Young shows conclu-



The *Cité des Amis* (Neuvilly)

sively how much better off the villages of our "area" are than are the other sections of the devastated zones. He says:

"On a trip to the Somme not long ago, any idea that we had not been able to help our region was absolutely dispelled. On all of this trip of about 150 miles of the battle front, we saw no place at all where a small village like Neuilly had been built. A village of about 300 or 400 inhabitants before the war would have five or six families back instead of 70 or 80 as in our villages. Two cities of probably 20,000 or 30,000 inhabitants, which had been razed to the ground, and which we passed through, had possibly 100 or 150 houses each. In one of these cases the houses had been built by a big company, evidently to house its own workmen. There is no doubt that in the districts where we have done building, we have advanced the return of the French refugees en masse by at least one year."

One of the most telling forms of help which the mission supplied consisted of building and managing canteens and hostels for the refugees who returned to their ruined villages. They were thus provided with a place to eat and sleep while they were getting life started again in homes which were not ready for their inmates. The coöperative stores sold them glass to repair their windows in cases where the old houses were not beyond recovery, and here, too, in these stores, they could get cement, paint and whitewash for the inside walls. Wall paper also could be had and curtains for those who wanted to have the house look as it used to do. Nails—thanks to the "dumps"—we had in plenty and these were indispensable to all returning exiles.

Schools had not existed in these regions since the war first broke over their heads. The mission assisted the returned people in starting a school in every village as soon

as the children got back to use it, and these schools were furnished with necessary school-supplies out of the coöperative stores. Over ninety schools thus received supplies of pens, paper, crayons and other needed material. All school libraries had been annihilated. We proceeded to put a small library in every school in our area. Besides this an excellent library of one thousand volumes was bought for Clermont, to be used both in the town and throughout the canton. This splendid work was under the oversight of Edith Moon.

The soil of this whole Verdun region was poor even before the devastation came to it. The trenches and shell holes left it seven times worse than in its former estate. But it was "home" to a great number of peasants and they loved it with such a passion that no other land could take its place for them. One reason why this area especially appealed to our mission was that the rich and easy areas could take care of themselves. Sooner or later recovery and reconstruction were sure to come where the returns from the land were abundant. But unless help came early nothing could save the sterner regions which skirted the Argonne and lay in the storm belt of trench warfare. Henceforth Verdun and Argonne will always be associated with the Quakers. The scenes of the world's greatest fighting and the men who could not fight—with guns and bayonets—are indissolubly united. In the summer of 1919 the work in the Meuse and the Ardennes reached its height. Many forms of relief slowed down and came to an end soon after the armistice was signed. Our work, however, expanded when the fighting stopped. The men who had been unable to do reconstruction before the war was over now were eager to do their part in the labor of love and those who had already been in the mission wanted to go

on with their work, since they were not in it just because they had to be in it, but rather because it was the best expression they knew how to give of their faith and spirit. After the middle of the summer the work naturally tapered off. The people were back in their villages, they had homes to live in, their harvests were gathered, their communities established and life was in some sense reorganized. Charles Rhoads, William Biddle, Henry Scattergood, Ralston Thomas, Joseph Haines, Frederick J. Libby and many other members of the American group who had had an important part in its direction felt that they could return to America now and leave the work in other hands. Frank Shaw was chosen Executive Secretary to succeed Wilfrid Shewell. Wilmer J. Young was selected to succeed Charles J. Rhoads as head of the American body of workers. James Norton, Vincent Nicholson, Leslie Heath, Weston Howland, all men who had been thoroughly tried and tested in the formative experience of the work, became prominent leaders in the finishing period of it. The problems still remained complex and difficult, for in some respects it is a harder task to direct a closing operation than to steer an opening one. The drive and enthusiasm of the forward-looking group are maintained with great difficulty when the winding up process is underway. To see old workers and companions withdrawing to go home works subtly on the mind of those who stay behind to finish the slowly contracting job. It must be said, however, that the spirit of the Mission in France has remained to the end. I am writing on the last day of 1919. The workers have been coming home in a steady stream for many weeks, but so far as one can tell from conversation and letters much of the old time fire is left. According to the latest reports, relief in some form or degree has been given by

Friends to 1,666 French villages and over 46,000 families have been assisted. The Mission has planted 25,000 trees, mostly fruit trees, in "the Verdun area," five trees per family, and many communal trees.

Of the group still on the field, more than half are eager to go, when their work in France is done—and it will practically close in six or eight weeks—to one of the new fields of labor and relief which have already opened in Serbia, Poland, Vienna and Germany. A spirit of service, an international outlook, a deep sympathy for all who suffer have come to most of the workers in the French field and they will bear henceforth both in their souls and bodies the marks of their years of devoted labor in France. A French writer, in a Paris newspaper, commenting on the work of the Mission said not long ago, "The Friends consider that the most beautiful form of intelligence is friendship." That has not been a conscious article of the Quaker creed, but the expression of friendship has been, I am sure, the deepest aspiration of all the best and truest workers and into it as into all their constructive activities has gone the best intelligence with which they were gifted. An American army officer who had seen the work and the workers in many places wrote home from Paris with enthusiasm:

"Everywhere I go, whether up to the front or down to the Baby Show at Lyons, I always find the Quakers, and they are always the hardest working, simplest, most modest crowd in the place. They rarely do the big spectacular things, so they are not so much talked about as they should be. But when you get down to the people on the ground who know what's going on, you find everybody from top to bottom blessing the Quakers."

The workers themselves have been extremely modest and humble, conscious of mistakes and failures rather than exalted by successes. They would regret to have trumpets

sound their praises. They have not allowed their left hand to know what their right hand was doing. *Curés* have thanked God for them and have prayed His blessing upon them. Mayors of villages and towns have given them eloquent addresses of appreciation.

The following letter, which is a good sample of many similar expressions of appreciation, is from the widow of M. Paul Labosse who had been president of the Civil Tribunal of Nancy, Mayor of Clermont and *Conseiller Général* of the Meuse. Writing from Poitier to one of our workers, November 28th, 1919, after a visit to Clermont, she says:

"I have just heard that you may be leaving Clermont about March next. I do not want to delay longer in telling you of my admiration for your work. When I was at Clermont in October last I received hospitality in your house, but did not like to disturb you by expressing my thanks. I regret that I did not do it and now I want to tell you something of my feeling for your Mission so rich in the self-sacrifice, the understanding and discretion of its members. May you be rewarded for the immense amount of good you have done for our country, for after five years of death you have brought it life. With the help you have given hope has sprung up again, even amongst those who, like myself, felt that it was no longer worth while to live. [She had been to see the grave of her son.] Infirm and half ruined I have nevertheless sought a temporary dwelling.

"Allow me to thank you personally and particularly for the generosity with which your Mission rebuilt the large wing of the hospital at Clermont previously built by my husband. He loved his town passionately, the inhabitants would tell you so, and in thanking you I feel that I speak in his name. Receive these thoughts as the expression of a mind which would have known how to understand and appreciate you even better than I can do.

"You will probably only leave us to take new life elsewhere. How splendid is your Mission, how rich in generosity for your allies. Accept my kind regards, as well as my sincere gratitude."

More touching still has been the joy of little children whose innocent faces spoke the fervor of their hearts. The workers have greatly prized these testimonies but they have always dwelt in their thought upon the littleness of the service compared to the trouble and woe of the country they tried to help. They rejoice most that they could permanently build their love and devotion into one section of the land that suffered so much. I should like to close this chapter with the words I spoke to a large group of them in Paris last winter:

"Ever since I was a little child, the building of cathedrals has made me marvel—the way those men translated their faith into these glorious structures. Nobody ever built a cathedral; you cannot put your finger on the man who did it; the man that started it was often dead before the first story was up. He dreamed a splendid dream, and died; the cathedral went on. Every man in the whole city and every man about the city helped build; every woman and every child helped carry stones. Centuries went by; styles of architecture changed. The cathedral went on and every Christian went on building his faith into it like a martyr's flame turned to stone, ever rising, ever aspiring, expressing everywhere and always the highest aspiration they had for their faith.

" A great thing has come to us. Though I cannot be in a cathedral without having every fiber in me respond to the glory of the place, yet I would rather have part in this work we are doing than share in the building of a cathedral. This translation of Christianity is greater than any

cathedral-builders ever made. It has come to you to put your lives into this. Two hundred years from now they will not remember your names, they will not have a roll on which every name is listed. But this thing which you are doing will never cease, for when you translate Love into Life, when you become organs of God for a piece of service, nothing can obliterate it. To-night I feel, as I did this morning in Notre Dame, an emotion that throbs through my whole being. Thank God we can have our little share in this age in translating the love of God into terms of human service and that we can fight, not with guns, not with bombs, but with the sword of the Spirit which is the word of God."

CHAPTER XVII

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE WORK IN OTHER LANDS

THE work of reconstruction and relief in France is only a part—though it is a large part—of the service of love to suffering victims of war which American Friends have undertaken in the years 1917–1919. We sent a small group of workers to Russia even before we had completed our plans for the French Mission. These workers joined the English Friends who had already for some time been engaged in extensive work of relief among the hosts of refugees who had retreated before the invading German armies as they drove through Poland and Western Russia. The center of the Friends' work was at Buzuluk in the Samara Province.

The American Unit, consisting of six women,—Anna J. Haines, Lydia Lewis, Esther White, Emilie Bradbury, Nancy Babb, and Amelia Farbiszewski—started for Southeastern Russia on the 29th of June, 1917, to join with English Friends who had already established an extensive mission of relief for refugees and civilians. They reached the field of their activities at the end of August where they divided their group, each one of the workers going to a different center of activity. These six centers were in villages, separated by one or two days' travel in a springless cart or sledge from the main office, which was situated in Buzuluk, a town of about 15,000 inhabitants and one of the largest wheat depots on the Samara-Tashkent railroad.

Each of the villages in the surrounding country held a native farming population of about 4,000, and since the early part of the great war housed, in addition, a refugee population of from one to five hundred persons. Owing to two years' drought, famine conditions prevailed and the refugees, as consumers and non-producers, were very unpopular. Most of them were women, old men and children, as the young and middle-aged men were still in the army.

The English Friends had already established a hostel in a huge manor house recently deserted by a rich tobacco merchant, where orphans, childless old people, and a few families in which the mothers were incapacitated for work, were given refuge (in all about 125 people). In that village and in two others English doctors were established, taking the place of the Russian physicians who had gone to the front, leaving the civilian population without medical aid. Hospitals were opened and managed by English nurses. One doctor's district covered an area including 60,000 people, and many of his patients had two days' drive to reach him. The dispensary waiting-rooms presented interesting opportunities for racial study, as Tartars, Bashkirs, Kirgheze, Ukrainians, Cossacks, Bulgarians, Mordvins, Serbs, Austrians, and German prisoners patiently waited their turn with Russian natives and refugees. Frequently 120 patients would be seen in one morning. Diseases of all sorts abounded. Christmas Day found one sixteen-bed hospital filled with patients who had anthrax, hydatid cyst, typhus, typhoid, pneumonia, puerperal fever, diphtheria, tubercular bone, frozen feet, and lunacy. In two other villages where there was no doctor a visiting nurse made rounds every day and saw besides about fifty patients in the dispensary each morning. In addition to their dispensary and hospital duties and operations the doctors made

many trips into the country to sick patients, and visits of inspection and advice to villages where typhus, typhoid or small-pox epidemics had broken out. Special food was often given to patients who required better nourishment than they could afford to buy.

Relief work other than medical was confined to the refugees. Work-rooms were established in six villages where at least one member of each refugee family was given employment,—spinning, weaving, knitting, sewing or embroidering. About 500 women were on the pay-roll at one time in the various centers. As there was and is so great dearth of cloth in Russia these workshops were especially valuable not only in providing the wages which made food purchaseable by the working women, but they actually increased the amount of wearable cloth in that part of the country. In addition to clothing all refugees in the villages where the members of the mission lived, free clothing distribution was made to all the refugees in 40 other villages in the same county, covering an area about 75 by 150 miles in extent.

These three activities, medical service for both natives and refugees, workshops as the form of relief most practical and productive of self-respect for able-bodied refugees, and a hostel for the incompetents, constituted the backbone of the service of Friends in Russia during 1916–17 and 1918. In addition there were numerous other closely allied but less extensive activities. When after the Bolshevik Revolution many of the soldier husbands, fathers and sons came home from the front the mission could not see them sit idle while their wives worked, so a labor bureau was started for men and positions found for many.

Two years of drought and several years of commandeering of food for the army had made such inroads on the

local supply of grain that by the spring of 1918 the stock of seed was very low and poor. It could be purchased in small quantities from the Cossacks, two days' journey away, but at a cost prohibitive to the poorer peasants. To prevent worse famine the Quaker workers loaned several thousand dollars to the poorest of the native peasants for the purpose of re-stocking themselves with seed-wheat. A contributory cause for the poor harvests was the scourge of "suzlicks," a muskrat-like animal which eats the young blades and later the ripened grain. One spring the mission paid a bounty on suzlick skins and received them by the hundreds of thousands.

The lack of education, both academic and along the lines of useful trades, was one of the gravest results of the abnormal life of the refugees, most of whom had come from neighborhoods where more attention was paid to trade education at least, than in the steppe region where they were now located. The children under direct charge of the Mission in the orphanage received, of course, good schooling under trained teachers. One winter the Friends arranged a special morning school for German-speaking refugee children of one village who were not received in the native school. In the afternoon classes for all refugee children were held in shoe-making and carpentry. A more ambitious course was carried out in the town of Buzuluk for several months. Here a regular trade-school was established with well-equipped workshops in carpentry, tailoring and shoemaking for boys, and book-binding for girls. Work came from the city government as well as from civilians and from the orphanage, and this trade-school was kept upon a self-supporting basis.

The Bolshevik advance made it very certain that Buzuluk would fall into their hands, after which capture it was most

improbable that the English or American governments would permit funds to be forwarded to the workers. Without the financial means to carry on the work, the workers could be of little use in that part of Russia. They left on the last train from Samara and started to investigate the refugee situation in the Siberian railroad towns. At Omsk they found the most frightful conditions of disease, overcrowding and forced idleness. Here also they met the American Red Cross, short of workers but eager for fresh helpers, and they allied themselves with it for six months of important service. Two members of the mission, Theodore Rigg and Esther White succeeded in getting through to Moscow where they spent the winter of 1918–19. They devoted themselves to the task of saving large groups of children from starvation by taking them out of the city into country districts where they could secure food for them.

The activities of the group in Siberia were more concentrated in area than they had been in Samara, but they dealt with a greater number of people, there being about 12,000 refugees in the city and suburbs who were touched in some way by the work. Disease was much more prevalent than in the Buzuluk area. Epidemics of typhus, typhoid and scurvy flourished during the winter and spring as well as much pneumonia, small-pox, and tuberculosis. Their investigations showed that amongst the 12,000 refugees whose homes were visited, about 3,000 lived in summer barracks with dirt floors utterly unfit for the winter temperature which fell to 71° F. below zero; 2,500 lived in miserable dugouts in the ground almost without light and ventilation; 500 lived in freight cars, and the remaining 6,000 in all sorts of poor dwelling-places, from cattle pens to the corridors of public office buildings. One out of

every twelve persons was found acutely ill with some dangerous communicable disease. Four thousand five hundred persons were recommended to receive clothes, and 700 women were suggested as needing home work to keep their families or to supplement their husbands' earnings. The help based on these investigations took much the same form as had been found practical in our earlier experience: labor bureaus for adult healthy workers able to leave home, hand-work in the home for women with little children and without male support, clothing distributions, medical attendance, schools and orphanages. Disinfecting on a large scale was done in the barracks.

The unrest in Siberia due to the political conditions made work both for the refugees and for many equally poor natives most difficult. But the possibilities for permanent reconstruction, both spiritual and material, are perhaps greater in Russia than in any other country.

Some of the members of the Service Committee, even in the early stages of its work, carried on their hearts a deep concern to do some real constructive service for Serbia. The story of suffering which came to us from those who had been in that distressed country moved us deeply. We had, however, for many months all we could do to carry forward what we had undertaken in France and Russia. It seemed wise to keep concentrated and to put our united efforts into the great task which had been laid on our hands. When the Russian work was closed by conditions over which we had no control, and when we saw that the Mission in France would call for only a limited period of activity, our thought turned strongly again toward Serbia. A very interesting Serbian official who was in this country in the autumn of 1918, M. Stoykovitch, attended a session of the Service Committee and vividly pictured to us the woes of his

country and called upon us to undertake a definite piece of agricultural reconstruction not far from Nish. The appeal made a deep impression and a special committee was appointed, with President W. W. Comfort of Haverford College as chairman of it, to study the problems and to propose a line of action. This committee spent much time and effort investigating the situation. They received the most conflicting accounts of conditions in Serbia and they got a great variety of opinions upon the lines of relief which were most urgently needed. It was finally decided to send out a small commission of Friends to study the problem on the field. J. Lawrence Lippincott of Riverton, New Jersey and Alvin Wildman of Selma, Ohio, were chosen for this important service. The committee decided to send out a small band of workers with the commission so that there might be no delay in starting operations when once the plan of work was formulated, and it was further decided to appropriate $40,000 to purchase supplies for the use of this unit, which was to take up its practical task as soon as the field of activity was selected by the commission.

The commission sailed from New York in July, 1919, accompanied by a small band of workers and followed a few days later by a second band, making fifteen in all. The unit consisted of the following workers: Cecil Franklin Cloud of Ivor, Va., Elsa M. Eliot of Pittsburgh, Pa., Samuel E. Eliot of Pittsburgh, Pa., Philip William Furnas of Indianapolis, Ind., Andrew R. Pearson of Swarthmore, Pa., Arthur J. Rawson of Lincoln, Va., Loreta O. Rush of Fairmount, Ind., Antoinette E. C. Russell of Philadelphia, Pa., Elwood D. Thomasson of Springfield, Iowa, and William H. Wolfram of Boston, Mass. Lawrence Lippincott and Alvin Wildman made a careful study of the various relief agencies operating in Serbia, they consulted with authori-

ties and experts, and they worked out their plans for our form of service. Housing was plainly one of the great needs in the face of oncoming winter. In the region assigned to us in the Toplica Valley the houses had been largely destroyed and the inhabitants, i.e. women and children, for the men were not yet back, were living in rude summer shelters.

Our little band of workers had two hundred Bulgarian prisoners put under their care and direction for house-building work. They also received a supply of rough lumber and fifty mules to do the work of transportation. The prisoners proved to be good willing workers, responsive to kind treatment and ready to restore what they once destroyed. Besides carrying on the house-building operations it was decided to open and manage an orphanage for the destitute children of the region. A large farm with extensive buildings was secured at Lescovatz. The buildings were reorganized and made ready for a numerous group of children, and a medical dispensary connected with the orphanage was provided for the district. The work is progressing and is bringing most needed relief to the section of Serbia that has fallen to our care.

Throughout the whole period of the war English Friends had devoted much care and attention to the enemy aliens who were held in the internment camps in Great Britain and to their needy families. This work, which was carried on by the "Emergency Committee," was, of course, unpopular and often misunderstood, but it was a beautiful form of human relief and aroused the sympathy and interested support of those who understood its loving and unselfish spirit. It received some financial assistance from America, and a small attempt was made by Friends in this country to do a similar work among the Germans and Aus-

trians interned here. In the clash of arms such waves of hate are generated that everybody who belongs even remotely to the enemy peoples is supposed to be himself an enemy and is therefore treated as an outcast to be shunned by everybody. It seems difficult to remember, under such circumstances, how many innocent sufferers there are and how tragic are the experiences of those who are free from all complicity in wrong-doing but who have been caught in the great net spread for really dangerous enemy aliens. Friends could not forget these innocent sufferers and they knew, furthermore, that there were very many persons, even in the enemy countries as well, who were not enemies in act or spirit, who were not responsible for the war, who did not approve of barbarities, and who were eagerly praying for the tragedy to come to an end so that men and women and children might once more *live.*

The Friends who thus kept alive their human sympathies and humanitarian instincts were not "pro-German." They did not approve at all of German military aims, policies, or methods. They knew that only tragedy could come as the bitter fruit of the theory of life which had controlled the military party in Germany. But all the more for that reason they travailed in sorrow and pain for those who though innocent had to tread the wine-press of agony with those who were guilty. The first real assistance of importance which Friends were able to give to the enemy peoples in their own country was in the city of Vienna. The tragedy of "the middle empires" culminated in this city, once the gayest in Europe. A large number of causes—political, economic and sociological, and psychological no doubt as well—united to produce the climax of catastrophe in this center of art and music and scientific achievement. When English Friends first came to Vienna

in May of 1919 they were appalled at the sight of suffering which met them. It appeared in the most harrowing form in the condition of the underfed children, and therefore the work which they began at once to organize had to do primarily with saving the children. Dr. Hilda Clark made the following report of the conditions:

"What I find is that sixty per cent. of their children have severe rickets, and hardly one is free from the slighter degrees. No wonder that the hospitals and dispensaries are all over-crowded with cases of rickets—no wonder the tuberculosis rate keeps rising. The future of these children is either to die of some trifling childish ailment in the winter, to become the victims of chronic tuberculosis or to grow up crippled and deformed. Even the slighter degrees of deformity, due to rickets, will in women produce difficulty and disaster in childbirth.

"The full extent of the disaster that has befallen the children of Vienna is not realized by many, even of those who visit here. Cases of tuberculosis and rickets can be seen in any hospital in England, but one must point out that the cases of 'late rickets' in children over three years old were almost unknown till now. The increase in the number of cases cannot easily be demonstrated until the death rate shows it—and the children do not die of rickets alone.

"The children of one to five years are seldom seen in the streets for they can hardly toddle, and unless you undress them and ask their ages you would not realize what had happened. Yet many of these children can be cured quite quickly if fresh milk can be given, and even the bad cases are often cured with cod liver oil. The distribution of milk and fats among this class of child would do more to prevent the increase of the death rate and the development

of rickets and tuberculosis than any other measure, and would, in my opinion, have a most far-reaching effect on the future of the race. Extra nourishment is also needed for the mothers during pregnancy and lactation to prevent the infant mortality from continuing to rise."

From the first the work of relief was planned with marked intelligence and was characterized by boldness and vigor. The American Committee was asked to coöperate in the Vienna relief work which we did by furnishing workers who had already been trained in France and who were well qualified for meeting the new emergency. We also appropriated $25,000 to assist in purchasing supplies. The work as planned by Dr. Hilda Clark, whose "concern" it was, included a system of Infant Welfare Relief Centers where milk, cocoa, and other child foods were distributed for the mal-nourished children. It included also an organization for visiting homes and hospitals and for assisting both private and public institutions, so that they might get the supplies which were most important for saving the children's lives. In connection with this work it was soon found necessary to perfect an arrangement for securing pure milk which, due to the separation of Vienna from its natural food sources, had become extremely scarce. By unceasing effort and no little spirit of venture the Friends induced the municipality of Vienna to buy from the country districts three hundred cows and to bring them to Vienna where the Friends agreed to keep them fed and to get the milk applied where it was most needed. They imported five thousand dollars' worth of linseed oil cake from America to be used as intensive food for the cows. On this plan it is estimated that a child can be supplied with milk for six months at a cost of $4.50.

Another form of relief on a very large scale was the dis-

tribution of clothing sent for the purpose from England and America. The little babies were being wrapped in paper, and the boys and girls were going about in clothes made of coarse potato bags and other similar substitutes for clothing. From the Quaker centers of relief a very large number of children and others have been supplied with warm and comfortable clothes, which made them feel as though life was beginning anew.

Almost more difficult was the problem of fuel. The ration of coal assigned for each family in Vienna for the entire winter was about seventeen hundred pounds. Even that meager amount has not been actually furnished. Street cars were forced to stop running, manufacturing became impossible, and the city was threatened with a complete paralysis of functions. Frederick Kuh, one of our American workers who was transferred from the French field for service in Austria, writes: "On the outskirts of Vienna, as the train draws into the metropolis, one sees hundreds of factories with every gaunt, towering chimney dormant—not a puff of smoke visible at a moment when, as never before, smoke, fire, production, the means to live, are all essential. Coal has become a myth of ante-bellum days. What untold hardships absence of coal has already caused are without end. The trees in the beautiful parks of the city and suburbs have been cut down to supply emergency fuel, while many a home has consumed its furniture to cook the scanty meals for the family. Friends have resorted to various expedients for relieving the suffering from cold, though they have, of course, been able to help only in a limited way. They have brought some supplies of coal from the coal fields in their motor cars and they have at least helped the hospitals to maintain a reasonable amount of heat."

A special correspondent to the *Manchester Guardian*, who went out to study the tragedy and to report upon the methods of relief, wrote the following account which was published in the above-named newspaper under date of December 26th, 1919:

"What the Friends Relief Mission means to this sorrowful city (Vienna) in which since last May it has been working, only time can completely show. One catches hints of its wonderful value here and there. They are to be found at hospitals and clinics, where suffering people give a grateful welcome to any one wearing the red-star badge. They are to be found, too, in the respect with which members of the mission are everywhere treated. To have saved hundreds of little children from a diseased life of utter misery is a beautiful thing, but it is far from being the only or maybe even the biggest miracle worked here by the Society of Friends. For the Viennese people—pleasant, intelligent people, I have found them—the mission has softened both the bitterness of their defeat and the hardness of their suffering. To men and women utterly humiliated by conquest and crushed by privation, it has been a wonderful thing to be helped by those from whom they least expected help. Through the gentleness and self-sacrifice of these workers they will be able to rebuild their broken lives."

Carolena M. Wood was the first American Friend to take active steps to express sympathy and love and a spirit of service to the German people in their own country. She went to France in the spring of 1919, visited the French Mission and through the assistance of Herbert Hoover was able to go forward to Germany with the expectation of having food supplies to distribute. Jane Addams and Dr. Alice Hamilton, both of whom had joined our Mission in

France, arranged also to go to Germany with Carolena Wood. When they reached London they found a small party of English Friends preparing to set out on a similar mission, as soon as the Peace Treaty was signed. A minute of the London Meeting for Sufferings of the Society of Friends, under date of July 4th, 1919, expresses the purpose of the delegation—the first to go to Germany with a purely unselfish aim and with a hope to prove that there are no frontiers to love. The minute says:

"We are thankful to learn that the following members of the religious Society of Friends are now proceeding to Germany under a deep sense of the need which exists for mutual friendly intercourse and fellowship between those who all belong to the same great human family and who have been separated during these sad years of war, namely:

"Marion C. Fox, Joan M. Fry, J. Thompson Elliott, and Max Bellows from England, together with Carolena M. Wood, from America, who is accompanied by Jane Addams and Dr. Alice Hamilton.

"Our friends are traveling on behalf of the committee which has under its care the arrangements for sending 'Gifts of Love' to Germany, in the form of food, clothes, and other necessities,—a work that is shared in, not only by 'the Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Germans, Austrians and Hungarians in Distress' and 'the Friends War Victims Relief Committee,' but by many other persons not associated with Friends in membership."

The four English members of the committee who travelled through the occupied region and entered Germany via Cologne, reached Berlin July 6th; the three American members who traveled through Holland and crossed the border on the first civilian passports issued there since the signing of peace, arrived in Berlin July 7th. Dr. Aletta

Jacobs, a Dutch physician who had been asked as a neutral to make observations on health conditions in Germany, was a fourth member of the second party. Dr. Elizabeth Rotten of Berlin, who has been acting as the representative in Germany of the work of the English Friends and is also head of the Educational Committee of the German Association for the Promotion of the League of Nations, was naturally guide and adviser in making arrangements for the distribution of such assistance as we might be able to send from America.

The American Friends Service Committee put $30,000 at the disposal of this delegation to be used for the most urgently needed foods. English Friends had ever since the signing of the armistice been sending supplies of food and clothing to Germany. In addition to our appropriation for food we also sent twenty-five tons of new clothing. It was a small amount in the face of such universal need as was revealed there, but it was at least a beginning and a promise of what might follow, and it indicated a spirit of faith and hope that a new era of life might emerge.

Jane Addams and Dr. Hamilton made a careful and illuminating study of health and food conditions. Their report was issued in Bulletin No. 25 of the Service Committee's publications and has been widely circulated in America. No one who has read this report can doubt that there was a grave situation to be met.

Carolena Wood's letters supply vivid accounts of the great suffering in Germany. She says: "The first week or ten days I was in Germany was given to visiting hospitals, orphan asylums, day nurseries and clinics for children to gather an impression of the physical suffering which is here by seeing some of the little wasted bodies due to the ravages of tuberculosis and rickets, and which must result

in death, invalidism, or a lot of dwarfs. All is directly due to under-nourishment. As we went about there ran in my ears these words of the desperate mother to the prophet, 'I have but a handful of meal in the barrel and a little oil in the cruse, and behold I am gathering two sticks that I may go in and dress it for me and my son *that we may eat it and die.*' So far has Germany gone....

"When I saw the destruction left in the battle-fields of France I wished that all the world might go there to see what war is, but this is no less a battle-field with its deep awful lesson. The birth rate is reduced one-half and it is well. This is a hard world into which to invite a new life to come. We must first make the world safe for it.

"When I saw Mr. Hoover in Paris he said: 'We may count food values in calories, but we have no way to measure human misery.' We may go about the streets here looking at the shop windows and at the well people we see, and not know the sorrow of Germany. It is only as we enter humbly and tenderly into the room of suffering that our hearts can in same sense measure the pain."

But great as is the material need the spiritual need is even greater. We quote from Carolena Wood: "The result of this physical under-nourishment on the mental and spiritual life of the people is, of course, profound. It is very difficult for them to concentrate their minds on any subject for long, and their judgments must be superficial. They are mentally tired and worn. Doubt follows them everywhere as they look at their neighbors, at their political parties, at their government, at the world, at mankind, at God. They say again and again, 'we are hopeless.' Still upon these hungry bodies and tired souls press the most tremendous problems of reconstruction in business, church and government. . . .

"It is impossible to over-emphasize the despair of the higher class people who have not a spiritual perspective, and it is very touching the way in which they lay hold of a Friendly hand and of Friendly thoughts. There is a wonderful opening for us here. The philosophy of force has crumpled in their hands."

The effect of this visit of English and American Friends upon the German people of all classes was astonishing. It was an instant revelation of the way heart responds to heart and spirit to spirit. They found a people wounded, beaten, broken in body and spirit. The terms of peace had made people in Germany suppose that the whole world was determined to humiliate and crush them to the last turn of the screw. Unexpectedly a group of representative Friends came among them with no reference to their wickedness, with no desire for vengeance, but, on the contrary, breathing peace and kindness and bearing in their hands tokens of friendship and kindly human interest. The impression made upon all classes of people was profound, and though they desperately needed food they appeared even more eager to learn about the underlying religious faith and the spiritual message of their Friendly visitors.

Other English Friends followed up the visit of this first group and the American committee was planning to send over a small unit of men and women to render various types of service during the winter, when we were suddenly surprised to receive from Herbert Hoover, chairman of the American Relief Administration of the European Children's Fund a call to take entire charge in Germany of the distribution of food to save the children. He came first to Philadelphia and presented to a small group of us in person his plan of relief. This was supplemented and made more definite in a letter sent to the chairman of

the committee, and later the whole plan was re-stated in a second letter written November 17th, which was as follows:

FRIEND JONES:—I beg to confirm the understanding with regard to our arrangement that you should further expand your organization of relief for under-nourished children in Germany. As I explained to you, the European Children's Fund, under my direction, is at present engaged in the special feeding of some three million under-nourished children in various parts of Europe and there has been placed in the hands of this fund certain moneys for extension of this work to Germany.

There can be no question as to the need of further expansion of the service that your society has been for some months carrying on in Germany. The vital statistics as to mortality and morbidity of German child life are sufficient evidence of this, aside from the personal knowledge I have as to the actual nutritional situation amongst children.

The food situation in all parts of Europe affects child life more than any other element in that community, because the destruction of cattle and the shortage of cattle-feed will continue the milk famine over this coming winter with great severity. Despite the suffering and losses imposed upon the American people through the old German Government, I do not believe for a moment that the real American would have any other wish than to see any possible service done in protection of child life wherever it is in danger. We have never fought with women and children.

I particularly turn to you, because I am anxious that efforts of this kind should not become the subject of political propaganda. The undoubted probity, ability and American character of the Quakers for generations will prevent any such use being made of your service, and for this reason, I propose that the funds at my disposal should be devoted exclusively to your support.

In order that you may have definite support upon which you may rely, the European Children's Fund will undertake to furnish transportation, both railway and overseas, entirely free of

charge to your society for any supplies that you may wish to dispatch for child relief from the United States to any point in Germany, up to next July. This office will also, if you desire, act free of charge as purchasing agent for any such supplies, handling them in combination with supplies for the sixteen other countries where work for children is in active progress. I understand that your society is prepared to pay the entire overhead expenses of organization in the United States and of distribution in Germany and, therefore, any contributions made to you would be entirely expended in the purchase of foodstuffs ex-factory in the United States, with no deductions for management or transportation.

It is my understanding that your actual distribution in Germany is done through local German charitable societies already engaged in such work and will be supervised by Quaker delegates from the United States. I wish to express my appreciation of the wisdom of this basis of organization.

I believe there are many patriotic American citizens of German descent who will be willing and anxious to contribute to your society for this work. I strongly urge upon all such well-intentioned persons to support your society to the extent of their resources. The need is great. Your society has demonstrated its large abilities and sympathy. There will be no political complexion in your work. Subscriptions to you under these arrangements will secure a much larger result in actual food delivered than through any other sources.

Faithfully yours,
(Signed) HERBERT HOOVER.

The Service Committee went to work at once (1) to select a unit for this service and (2) to organize for the task of raising a food fund to supply the material for the work of relief. A unit of highly qualified workers was quickly selected. It consisted of the following persons, under the leadership of Alfred G. Scattergood of Philadelphia: Dr. Henry S. Pratt, J. Edgar Rhoads, Harold

Evans, Arthur C. Jackson, Robert W. Balderston, Catherine M. Cox, Caroline L. Nicholson, Albert J. Brown, Herman Newman, Julia E. Branson, Richard L. Cary, M. M. Bailey, James G. Vail, Emma T. R. Williams, William Eves 3rd, Jesse H. Holmes, Caroline G. Norment, and Arthur M. Charles. The second task has been slower and more difficult. There has been a strong and deep-seated prejudice in the public mind against doing anything to relieve suffering in Germany, even to save the lives of children, and many whose kindly instincts were with the undertaking were yet restrained by public sentiment, or what they supposed was public sentiment. The German people in America were eager to help their suffering friends in Germany but they wanted to do it themselves and in their own way. There was apparently, too, on the part of other Christian denominations in the country a feeling of surprise that one small body like ours should have been chosen out alone to do this extensive piece of work. Gradually, however, the difficulties are yielding to solution. When it became generally understood that the names of donors were to be given wide publicity in Germany and that Friends were keeping themselves in the background as much as possible while doing the work, and were acting solely as the transmitters of desperately needed help, the attitude changed. Funds are now coming from all parts of America for this work and we hope that as a result relief can be carried into all the most needy centers of Germany.

Friends have another important unit at work, in Poland where the conditions of under-feeding and of disease are hardly surpassed anywhere, and where there is a universal lack of clothing and fuel. This work which was primarily begun by English Friends without assistance from us has now become in some sense a joint undertaking. We have

sent a small group of American workers and we are furnishing funds towards the maintenance of the service. The unit has been actively engaged in stamping out the dreaded typhus fever and it has established a maternity and child-welfare dispensary at Zawiercie. The group has consisted of about twenty-five workers, three of whom have unfortunately died, two of the typhus epidemic. We have sent a small commission to investigate conditions of life and needed forms of relief in the Baltic provinces, especially in Lithuania. Many of the refugees who were helped by our mission at Buzuluk came from the Kovno region of Lithuania, and we have hoped that we might assist them to get settled and started once more in their old home land where conditions are very difficult.

Another field of service seems just now to be opening before us in the Ukraine. The Service Committee has been requested by the Ukraine Association in America to form a unit to go out as a bureau of the American Red Cross and to take charge of the distribution of immense quantities of clothing and supplies—especially medicinal supplies—which the Ukraine Republic bought of the American Expeditionary Force in France and which are still stored in that country. We have consented to undertake this new task and we are ready to form a unit of workers as soon as the supplies are released in France for this purpose.

Nearer home also we are hearing a call for service. An invitation has come to the committee to send a reconstruction unit to Mexico. We have decided to accept the call and to carry into the disturbed and distracted country across our border a similar type of service and a similar spirit of fellowship to those which have characterized the work of reconstruction in Europe.

Nor is this all that the Service Committee has in mind.

It is preparing for many other lines and forms of helpful activity. It is calling upon young Friends throughout the country to look toward volunteering for at least one year of service for others before entering upon their life career in business vocations. Many types of community service are being proposed for their consideration while the Service Committee stands ready to open the door for each specific line of activity, and to provide the financial assistance for the experiment. It is hoped, of course, that many qualified persons will thus be turned permanently into avenues of public and community service.

Nothing that our hands can do ever can atone for the agony, the losses and the suffering which have fallen upon the innocent during these years of world tragedy. But I have reviewed some of the ways in which a small group of Christian people, who are trying to follow the Galilean, have labored to express their love and sympathy for the harrowed and distressed innocents upon whom the violence of the storm has fallen. It is not written to bring glory to any person or people. It is written solely to interpret a spirit and way of life, to convey, if possible, the truth that love will work everywhere and always—*semper et ubique*—even with enemies, vastly better than the way of hate works. Long ago in a beautiful story Tolstoy insisted that Love is "what men live by." These various missions here reported have been trying to demonstrate that. If this book has transmitted that *idea,* it has fulfilled its purpose.

APPENDIX A

American Reconstruction Workers in France

* Member of the Haverford Unit.

A

Walter H. Abell, Folsom, Delaware Co., Pa.
Loren O. Adamson, Indianola, Iowa.
Louisa A. Alden, 2313 Dorchester Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Joseph T. Allen, 437 N. Painter Ave., Whittier, Cal.
J. Roy Allgyer, West Liberty, Ohio.
S. E. Allgyer, West Liberty, Ohio.
Harold T. Allman, Friendswood, Texas.
*Vaughn D. Amick, Haviland, Kansas.
Esther Andrews, Shelton, Conn.
Esther C. Andrews, 225 S. Washington Ave., Whittier, Cal.
Mary E. Appel, 625 Hamilton St., Allentown, Pa.
Truman D. Arnold, 1050 E. Rornbach St., Wilmington, Ohio.
Tracy B. Augur, 43 Irving St., Cambridge, Mass.
Fred D. Augsberger, Elida, Ohio.

B

Herbert H. Babb, R. F. D. No. 1, Ivor, Va.
Howard W. Babb, R. F. D. No. 1, Ivor, Va.
*Dr. James A. Babbitt, 19th and Chestnut, Philadelphia, Pa.
Philip R. Bailey, 221 Forest Ave., Portland, Me.
Roland H. Bainton, 1108 Edwards Hall, New Haven, Conn.
Herbert N. Baker, Tonganoxie, Kansas.
John C. Baker, Everett, Bedford Co., Pa.
M. Louise Baker, 140 N. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
*Caleb C. Balderston, Jr., Kennett Square, Pa.
Mark Balderston, Colora, Md. (Guilford College, N. C.).
Richard M. Balderston, Colora, Md.
John D. Barlow, London, Eng.
Floyd E. Bates, Salem, R. F. D. No. 4, Oregon.

Charles Baynes, R. R. 3, Salem, Indiana.
Charles S. Beal Minneapolis, Minn.
Ellis H. Beals, Greenleaf, Idaho.
Lee E. Beier, Cazenovia, Wisconsin.
Thomas A. Benson, Homedale, Idaho.
*F. Furman Betts, 24 Carpenter St., Gtn., Philadelphia, Pa.
Helen E. Biddle, 207 Bank Ave., Riverton, N. J.
William C. Biddle, 107 Chambers St., New York City.
*A. Carroll Binder, *Minnesota Daily Star*, Minneapolis, Minn.
Ernest C. Binford, Haviland, Kansas.
Clarence H. Binns, 4215 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Willard C. Blackburn, New Waterford, Ohio.
Anita Bliss, 410 Park Ave., New York City.
Amos T. Bontrager, R. 2, Shipshewana, Indiana.
Ethel Boogher, 6300 Waterman Ave., St. Louis, Missouri.
Lewis O. Booth, Flora, Indiana.
William C. Bowen, Box 1185, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.
*Arthur L. Bowerman, care of Girard Trust Co., Broad and Chestnut, Philadelphia, Pa.
Walter G. Bowerman, 34 E. 32nd St., Bayonne, N. J.
Joseph H. Branson, Lansdowne, Pa.
Kenneth A. Bray, 1511 Fulton Ave., New York City.
Alfred W. Brenneman, Denbeigh, Va.
Benjamin F. Brenneman, Denbeigh, Va.
Mabel Brewer, Forest Hills, New York.
Walter C. Brinton, 4540 Adams Ave., Frankford, Pa. (Deceased).
William J. Brockelbank, Newmarket, Ontario, Can. (Haverford, Pa.).
Esther Brophy, Moorestown, N. J.
Malcolm A. Brosius, 1502 Delaware Ave., Wilmington, Del.
*Charles F. Brown, 59 Addington Rd., Brookline, Mass.
Dorothy M. Brown, East Lansing, Michigan.
Elliott W. Brown, 59 Addington Rd., Brookline, Mass.
*Ernest L. Brown, Moorestown, N. J.
Henry T. Brown, Jr., Moorestown, N. J.
Pearson C. Brown, R. R. 2, Ilderton, Ontario, Can.
Robert P. Brown, II, Moorestown, N. J.
*Sidney F. Brown, 333 N. Irvington Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
Vesta Brown, 6 Bethany Place, St. Louis, Missouri.
*Ralph P. Bruner, Greenfield, Ind.
Roy Buchanan, Roanoke, Ill.
Chester E. Bundy, Converse, Indiana.
Edith C. Bunting, Swarthmore, Pa.
*E. Morris Burdsall, Port Chester, New York.
*Richard L. Burdsall, Port Chester, New York.

*John H. Buzby, Hotel Dennis, Atlantic City, N. J.
William F. Byron, Johnstown, Pa.
George H. Bycraft, R. R. No. 2, Ilderton, Ontario, Can.

C

Leah T. Cadbury, Haverford, Pa.
Clyde T. Caldwell, Fairmount, Ind.
*Leland S. Calvert, Selma, Ohio.
Stewart F. Campbell, care of Geo. Hewlett, 79 Wall St., New York City.
*G. Cheston Carey, 1004 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md.
Howard L. Carey, Fairmount, Ind.
Helen G. Carlyle, 843 Hunts Point Ave., New York City.
Cassius C. Carter, 3rd and College, Newberg, Oregon.
Elmer W. Carter, Somerton, Philadelphia, Pa.
*Leland K. Carter, 536 N. Central Court, Indianapolis, Ind.
Rebecca Carter, 5356 Knox St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Melvin A. Cawl, 210 Brooklyn Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Charles H. Chaffin, 931 Lakeview, Emporia, Kansas.
Elliott P. Chambers, 5770 N. Madison Ave., Pasadena, Cal.
Fred J. Chambers, Damascus, Ohio.
*William C. Chambers, 3839 Powelton Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Edith A. Chandlee, 5529 Morris St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Emma Chandler, 127 Kingsley Ave., Waterloo, Iowa.
Harry L. Charles, Tangier, Okla.
Marianna Chase, Kansas City, Mo.
*Lowell J. Chawner, Pasadena, Cal.
W. Walker Cheyney, 93 LaCrosse Ave., Lansdowne, Pa.
*Frank E. Cholerton, Montrose, Pa.
Elsie S. Church, 9 South Ave., Ithaca, New York.
Lewis C. Clark, Bendena, Kansas.
Ruth Clark, Georgetown, Ill.
Laurence Clendenon, Chewelah, Wash.
Edith Coale, 100 Lippincott Ave., Riverton, N. J.
James C. Cocks, Cornwall-on-Hudson, New York.
Rowland C. Cocks, 315 Seward Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Theron E. Coffin, Earlham, Indiana.
Frank E. Colcord, Newberg, Oregon.
*Arthur Collins, Jr., 513 Ogden Ave., Swarthmore, Pa.
*Byron C. Collins, Moorestown, N. J.
Laura E. Comfort, 1340 Lombard St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Forrest D. Comfort, 321 N. "C" St., Oskaloosa, Iowa.
Marion S. Comly, 3311 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Daniel A. Compton, 317 E. 3rd St., Plainfield, N. J. (Deceased).
Chase L. Conover, 519 N. First St., Oskaloosa, Iowa.
Bennett S. Cooper, Moorestown, N. J.
*J. Arthur Cooper, 1316 E. Lincoln Highway, Coatesville, Pa.
Oliver J. Cope, 1914 W. Main St., Marshalltown, Iowa.
Paul M. Cope, Hotel Morton, Atlantic City, N. J.
*Thomas P. Cope, Jr., 200 E. Johnson St., Gtn., Philadelphia, Pa.
Omer A. Coppock, Drummond, Oklahoma.
Charles W. Cory, Jr., Gordon Bible School, 30 Evans Way, Boston, Mass.
Garfield V. Cox, 915 S. Grant Ave., Crawfordsville, Ind.
Joel Bean Cox, Paia Maui, Terr, Hawaii.
J. Boyd Cressman, 38 Chapel St., Kitchener, Ontario, Can.
A. Hurford Crosman, 564 Forest Ave., Portland, Me.
*William S. Crowder, 205 W. Upsal St., Gtn., Philadelphia, Pa.
Sara A. Cunningham, Hammonton, New Jersey.
Margaret Curtis, 28 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.

D

*Benjamin A. Darling, 4023 Smith Ave., Everett, Washington.
Henry Davis, Guilford College, N. C.
*Horace B. Davis, 44 Edge Hill Rd., Brookline, Mass.
Milton C. Davis, Miller Place, Long Island, N. Y.
Joe H. Detweiler, R. D. 3, Volant, Pa.
Francis H. Diament, Devon, Pa.
Arthur D. Diller, Elida, Ohio.
Mabel C. S. D'Olier, Moorestown, N. J.
Lloyd H. Donnell, Framingham Center, Mass.
Flavia M. Doty, 2224 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
John W. Dorland, 1875 N. Michigan Ave., Pasadena, Cal.
Howard H. Douglas, 1123 W. Court St., Los Angeles, Cal.
J. Nathan Douglas, R. F. D. 4, Brunswick, Maine.
George V. Downing, Elsmere, Delaware.
Edward R. Drange, 314 S. 4th St., Elkhart, Ind.
Daniel D. Driver, Garden City, Missouri. (Heston, Kansas.)
Mary E. Duguid, Moylan, Pa.
William Duguid, Moylan, Pa.
Eleanor L. Dulles, Auburn, New York.
Sophia H. Dulles, 311 S. 22nd St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Eugene A. Dungan, R. R. 3, Muscatine, Iowa.
George S. Dunn, 2126 N. Camac St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Fred A. Dushame, 56 Osgood St., Lawrence, Mass.

E

Franklin M. Earnest, Jr., Mifflinburg, Pa.
Charles B. Eavey, Grantham, Pa.
Paul K. Edwards, 228 College Ave., Richmond, Ind.
*William L. Edwards, 2054 New Jersey Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
Helen T. Elder, 240 Central Ave., Dayton, Ohio.
Katharine W. Elkinton, Moylan, Pa.
Howard W. Elkinton, Moylan, Pa.
Errol T. Elliott, Haviland, Kansas.
*Meade G. Elliott, Y. M. C. A., Seattle, Washington.
Paul S. Elliott, Newberg, Oregon.
Paul G. Engel, Central City, Nebraska.
Charles Evans, Riverton, New Jersey.

F

Ralph Fanning, Riverhead, L. I.
Francis H. Farquhar, Wilmington, Ohio.
Lawrence Farr, 1408 West "M" Ave., Oskaloosa, Iowa.
Fred D. Fellow, Jr., Windfall, Indiana.
Eldred H. Ferguson, Whittier, Cal.
John R. Ferres, R. R. 2, Carthage, Missouri (Springfield, Mo.)
Frances C. Ferris, 151 W. Hortter St., Germantown, Pa.
Leander W. Fisher, 176 Williams Ave., Lynn, Mass.
Emily M. Fletcher, 3232 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Jean Flickinger, Dalton, Mass.
Jacob B. Flory, 161 E. King St., Lancaster, Pa.
Jesse G. Forsythe, R. F. D. No. 3, Media, Pa.
Harlan J. Fuller, Chewelah, Washington.
Arthur D. Fulton, 2617 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, Md.

G

Arthur S. Gamble, Winona, Ohio.
*Lewis S. Gannett, 47 Barrow St., New York City.
Mary R. Gannett, care of N. Y. *World*, Park Row, New York City.
Julia A. Gardner, 2026 P. St., Washington, D. C.
*Albert G. Garrigues, Haverford, Pa.
Paul A. George, P. O. Box 272, League City, Texas.
Christopher J. Gerber, Las Cruces, New Mexico.
Orie B. Gerig, Smithville, Ohio.
Helen J. Gifford, 1113 Davis St., Evanston, Ill.
Maurice H. Gifford, Lindsay, Cal.

James E. Gaagey, Elizabethtown, Pa.
Walter L. Goddard, 41 Buswell St., Lawrence, Mass.
*Clifton D. Goff, Manhasset, Long Island, N. Y.
Margaret Gold, 719 Rush St., Chicago, Ill.
Dorothy Good, Williamsport, Pa.
Wistar E. Goodhue, 639 Church Lane, Gtn., Philadelphia, Pa.
Paul W. Gordon, R. R. 3, Box 104, Bluffton, Ind.
William M. Gordon, 159 Chester Ave., Chelsea, Mass.
Malbone W. Graham, Jr., 1639 Oxford St., Berkeley, Cal.
Chester S. Graybill, Bareville, Pa.
Mrs. Elwood Griest, 208 S. Queen St., Lancaster, Pa.
*Elwood Griest, 208 S. Queen St., Lancaster, Pa.
Joseph C. Griffen, 70 Prospect St., Port Chester, N. Y.

H

*Leland T. Hadley, 327 W. Main St., Richmond, Ind.
Loren S. Hadley, W. Locust St., Wilmington, Ohio.
Olin C. Hadley, Athena, Oregon.
Willford P. C. Hagaman, 1556 Adams Ave., Frankford, Pa.
*Joseph H. Haines, 5433 Wayne Ave., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Ward L. Haines, 1156 E. Morrison St., Portland, Ore.
Albert D. Hall, 665 Galena Ave., Pasadena, Cal.
Foster A. Hall, R. R. 1, Salem, Ohio.
J. Floyd Hall, Owasa, Iowa.
Archibald C. Halliday, Menlo Park, R. F. D. 1, Box 64, Cal.
Laura Hammer, Klamath Falls, Oregon.
Russell B. Hampton, R. D. 2, Salem, Ohio.
Edwin Hanson, Central City, Nebraska.
Gurney F. Hanson, Stickney, South Dakota.
William Y. Hare, 3401 N. 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Gordon B. Hartshorn, Walden, Orange Co., New York.
J. Mahlon Harvey, Fairmount, Indiana.
Cecil E. Haworth, R. 1, Springville, Iowa.
Harry H. Haworth, Healdsburgh High School, Healdsburgh, Cal.
*William W. Hayes, West Chester, Pa.
*Leslie O. Heath, Pittsfield, Mass.
A. Russell Heaton, Ferris Lane, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Abbie E. Henby, Greenfield, Indiana.
Sidney Henderson, Paullina, Iowa.
Marvin J. Henley, Guilford College, North Carolina.
Lloyd D. Hershey, Intercourse, Pa.
Asa M. Hertzler, Denbeigh, Va.
Fred I. Hester, Ridgefarm, Ill.

Fred W. Hiatt, Fountain City, Indiana.
Abraham E. Hiebert, R. F. D. No. 1, Hillsboro, Kansas.
Herbert A. Hill, 1414 Garfield Ave., Pasadena, Cal.
Horace P. Hill, 415 Oak Grove St., Minneapolis, Minn.
*D. Hainer Hinshaw, 824 Commercial St., Emporia, Kansas.
Ezra B. Hinshaw, Greenleaf, Idaho.
Harvey D. Hinshaw, Yadkinville, N. C.
Virgil V. Hinshaw, Newberg, Oregon. (Studying abroad.)
*Richard J. M. Hobbs, Guilford College, N. C.
D. R. Hoeppner, Hillsboro, Kansas.
Ruth Hoffman, 2302 Monroe St., Wilmington, Del.
Wray B. Hoffman, 2302 Monroe St., Wilmington, Del.
Laurence Hollingsworth, West Branch, Iowa.
Frederick T. Hollowell, 609 W. 127th St., New York City.
Hilda P. Holme, Baltimore, Md.
George O. Holmes, Foster, Nebraska.
Jesse H. Holmes, Jr., 5 Whittier Place, Swarthmore, Pa.
Richard S. Holmgren, E. Lynn, Mass.
Walter J. Homan, Oskaloosa, Iowa.
*Harold D. Hood, West Chester, Pa.
Ruth Hoopes, 220 S. Broad St., Kennett Square, Pa.
Floyd R. Horine, 1308—18th St., Des Moines, Iowa.
*Frank L. Hornbrook, 806 Florida Ave., Tampa, Fla.
Grace C. Hornbrook, 806 Florida Ave., Tampa, Fla.
Joseph J. Hoskins, Leesburg, Ohio.
Atlee A. Hostetler, Baltic, Ohio.
Forrest E. Hostetler, Topeka, Indiana.
Hamer V. Hostetler, West Liberty, R. R. 2, Ohio.
James A. Hostetler, Baltic, Ohio.
John L. Hotson, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ronald B. Hotson, 728 Lafayette Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Israel E. Hough, Ambler, Pa.
Folger B. Howell, R. D. 9, Springfield, Ohio.
*Weston Howland, New Bedford, Mass.
James A. Hull, Stafford, Kansas.
Wm. I. Hull, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
Raymond C. Hunnicutt, 337 N. Painter Ave., Whittier, Cal.
Milton P. Hunter, R. F. D. No. 2, Mt. Kisco, New York.
Beulah A. Hurley, New Hope, Pa.
*Philip W. Hussey, North Berwick, Maine.

I

Eleanore Iredale, care of Mr. T. J. Porter, Rose Valley, Moylan, Pa.

J

Anna G. Jacob, 13 Hollis Court Boulevard, Queens, Long Island.
J. Robert James, R. D., West Chester, Pa.
Elmer H. Janz, Larned, Kansas.
Cornelius C. Janzen, Bethel College, Newtown, Kansas.
Harold M. Jay, 151 College St., Wilmington, Ohio.
*Alfred W. Jenkins, 321 College Ave., Richmond, Ind.
Francis A. Jenkins, 5411 Greenwood Ave., Chicago, Ill.
F. Raymond Jenkins, 609 National Rd., Richmond, Ind.
Carl C. Johnson, Camden, Indiana.
Carroll E. Johnson, Oskaloosa, Iowa.
*Given C. Johnson, Le Grand, Iowa.
Marjorie D. Johnson, 626 N. Henry St., Madison, Wis.
Omer C. Johnson, Richland, Iowa.
Robert H. Johnson, 205 N. 11th St., Richmond, Ind.
Truman R. Johnson, 1101 N. Los Robles, Pasadena, Cal.
Arthur Jones, 192 Essex St., Lynn, Mass.
Dorothea B. Jones, 125 E. Fourth St., Conshohocken, Pa.
Ernest F. Jones, Swansea, Mass.
Harlan T. Jones, Central College, Central City, Neb.
John L. Jones, 6012 Ridge Ave., Roxborough, Philadelphia, Pa.
*Dr. Rufus M. Jones, Haverford, Pa.
Nellie Joyce, Central City, Nebraska.

K

Wilbur W. Kamp, New Philadelphia, Ohio.
D. Chauncey Kauffman, R. R. 3, West Liberty, Ohio.
John M. Kauffman, West Liberty, Ohio.
Addison R. Kauffman, Box 285, Newberg, Oregon.
Henry G. Keeney, Newberg, Oregon.
James C. Keever, No. Manchester, Ind.
*Donald R. Kellum, Camby, Ind.
Mary Kelsey, Short Hills, New Jersey.
Robert M. Kelsey, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
Harvey E. Kitts, Kokomo, R. R. 9, Indiana. (Deceased.)
George S. Klassen, Lehigh, Marion Co., Kansas.
Clifford L. Knight, Liscomb, Iowa.
Cornelius F. Kruse, 1108 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.
Frederick R. Kuh, Chicago, Ill.

L

*Harold S. Laity, Chappaqua, New York.
Herbert M. Lake, Chagrin Falls, Ohio.
*Ezra W. Lamb, Amboy, Indiana.

Mary A. Lamb, Hatfield House, Long Beach, Cal.
Harold M. Lane, 20 S. Twelfth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Russell A. Lantz, Topeka, Ind. (W.)
Richard A. Larkin, 151 College St., Wilmington, Ohio.
John R. Levis, Drexel Hill, Pa.
Lucy Biddle Lewis, Lansdowne, Pa.
Frederick J. Libby, Exeter, N. H.
Harry M. Lichety, Sterling, Ohio.
Ora R. Lichety, Sterling, Ohio.
Lawrence E. Lindley, Russiaville, Ind.
*Howard A. Lippincott, 243 W. Main St., Moorestown, N. J.
Albert J. Livezey, R. F. D. No. 1, Box No. 63, Barnesville, Ohio.
Alfred H. Loeb, St. James Hotel Annex, Philadelphia, Pa.
Clinton H. Longshore, Langhorne, Pa.
Dolan H. Loree, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
Ella L. Lounsberry, 1805 Fuller Ave., Hollywood, Cal.
Helen Lyman.

Mc.

*Abbott McClure, 304 S. 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Lloyd J. McCracken, Rose Hill, Kansas.
Jacob H. McDonnel, Burr Oak, Kansas.
Arthur H. McFadden, Box 294, State College, Pa.
Maynard J. McKay, 502 N. Walnut St., Wilmington, Ohio.
Alice McKinsey, Gross, Nebraska.
*Hugh E. McKinstry, 140 Dean St., West Chester, Pa.
Mark E. C. McMillian, Wilmington, Ohio.
Herbert B. McVey, 123 Rornback Ave., Wilmington, Ohio.
Charles E. McPherson, 31 No. Warren Ave., Columbus, Ohio.

M

*E. Carleton MacDowell, Cold Spring Harbor, L. I., N. Y.
Harvey G. Mack, 3330 N. Sydenham St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Adelaide P. Mackereth, Elkview, Pa.
*Roland E. Macy, New Providence, Iowa.
John W. Magee, R. 1, Box 87, Silverton, Ore.
Gladys Manning, 156 Mavety St., Toronto, Ontario, Can.
Katharine S. Maris, 835 Jefferson St., Wilmington, Del.
Robert H. Maris, 1009 Jefferson St., Wilmington, Del.
Loren B. Markle, R. R. 3, Gaston, Indiana.
Thurman B. Markle, Gaston, Indiana.
*E. Howard Marshall, Union, Iowa.
*Harold D. Marshall, Sutter, Cal.

*Lewis H. Marshall, Westtown School, Westtown, Pa.
Clinton Marshburn, R. F. D. 3, Orange, California.
Oscar Marshburn, 140 S. Ritter Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
Sylvester L. Marshburn, Whittier College, Whittier, Cal.
Josiah P. Marvel, 127 N. 10th St., Richmond, Ind.
Samuel Mason, Jr., 704 Locust Ave., Germantown, Phila., Pa.
Max Maxwell, 518 W. 9th St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Belle Mead, 320 16th Ave., S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Frank R. Mekeel, Aurora, New York.
Warren O. Mendenhall, Wyandotte, Oklahoma.
*Raymond D. Mesner, Central City, Neb.
*Robert D. Metcalf, 9 Wayne St., Worcester, Mass.
Jacob C. Meyer, 1139 S. 8th St., Goshen, Ind.
Dwight W. Michener, Truro, Iowa.
Howard P. Michener, Truro, Iowa.
R. Byran Michener, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
Ross C. Miles, Salem, Oregon.
Alvin J. Miller, 480 W. Main St., Kent, Ohio.
Alice Thompson Miller, Ivy Lodge, 29 E. Penn St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Anna L. Miller, Riverton, New Jersey.
Earl E. Miller, Manchester, Oklahoma.
Eli A. Miller, Millersburg, Ohio.
Payson Miller, Shipshewana, Indiana.
Trueman T. Miller, Middlebury, Indiana.
Alfred W. Milner, 151 College St., Wilmington, Ohio.
Clyde A. Milner, Leesburg, Ohio. (Studying abroad.)
Dillon W. Mills, Greenleaf, Idaho.
George V. Mills, University of Ill., McNabb, Ill.
Sumner A. Mills, Earlham, Indiana.
*Charles W. Moon, 2001 Maple St., Wichita, Kansas.
Edith C. Moon, Morrisville, Pa.
Wyman J. Moon, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
Ezra A. Moore, Dudley, R. 2, N. C. (deceased)
Lyman L. Moore, Liberty, North Carolina.
Raymond T. Moore, 17 E. Stratford Ave., Lansdowne, Pa.
Chalmer E. Morefield, Capron, Oklahoma.
Elliston P. Morris, 2nd, Phila., Pa.
Samuel Morris, Phila., Pa.
*Louis R. Morrison, 805 W. 7th St., Richmond, Ind.
Paul de Mott (Joined through the London office).
*Francis K. Murray, Palo Alto, Cal.
*Frederick S. Murray, Palo Alto, Cal.
*Harold Myers, Central City, Nebraska.
Mervin S. Meyers, R. F. D. No. 7, Lancaster, Pa.

N

Jay J. Newlin, Earlham, Iowa.
Mildred L. Nichols, 1604 West Pico, Los Angeles, Cal.
E. Leslie Nicholson, R. F. D. 1, Westville, N. J.
S. Francis Nicholson, 614 S. W. "A" St., Richmond, Ind.
Sidney O. Nicholson, Westville, N. J.
*Vincent D. Nicholson, 614 S. W. "A" St., Richmond, Ind.
James A. Norton, 115 Second St., N. E., Washington, D. C.
Marion S. Norton, 115 Second St., N. E., Washington, D. C.
Dorothy North, Chicago, Ill.

O

Wendell F. Oliver, Lynn, Mass.
William T. Oliver, 69 High Rock St., Lynn, Mass.
Seymour H. Olmsted, 873 Oak St., Winetka, Ill.
Herman F. Oppenlander, 1071 Arnold St., Portland, Ore.
Sarah M. Orr., 5645 Christian St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Walter E. Oswald, Charm, Ohio.
Willard B. Otis, R. D. 60, Venice Center, N. Y.
Jonas B. Otterson, Cochituate Road, Framingham, Mass.
Charles L. Outland, Tarboro, Edgecombe Co., North Carolina.
Elfred R. Outland, George, Northampton Co., N. C.

P

Mary H. Packer, Newtown, Pa.
*Jesse E. Packer, M. D., Newtown, Pa.
Edgar Z. Palmer, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
*J. Hollowell Parker, 1923 St. Paul St., Baltimore, Md.
Joseph I. Parker, 7 Avalon Apts., 10th & Alabama, Indianapolis, Ind.
Clyde C. Parkes, 635 Jefferson St., Hillsboro, Ill.
*Charles T. Parnell, Short Hills, N. J.
Arthur B. Parsons, Attelboro Falls, Mass.
Pleasaunce B. Parsons, Attleboro Falls, Mass.
J. Donald Peacock, Charlottesville, Ind.
Cecil E. Pearson, Newburg, Oregon.
J. H. Ward Pearson, 981 Hawthorn Ave., Portland, Ore.
Loren L. Peery, Thorntown, R. R. 4, Indiana.
Charles E. Pennell, 93 W. LaCrosse Ave., Lansdowne, Pa.
Clarence E. Pennell, Lansdowne, Pa.
Charles F. Pennock, Lansdowne, Pa.
Margaret L. Pennock, 6010 Green St., Germantown, Pa.

Roger Pennock, 243 Harvey St., Germantown, Phila., Pa.
Corwin H. Perisho, Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa.
Samuel E. Peters, Friendsville, Tennessee.
Katharine E. Phelps, St. James Hospital, Anking, China.
Dixon C. Philips, 976 Kensington Ave., Plainfield, N. J.
George B. Philips, 53 Oxford St., Cambridge, Mass.
Thomas H. Philips, 315 Cedar Lane, Swarthmore, Pa.
Vernon L. Pike, Placentia, Orange Co., Cal.
Laurence R. Plank, 3313 2nd Ave., S., Minneapolis, Minn
Frederick J. Pope, Vassalboro, R. F. D. 50, Maine.
*Edmond C. Preston, 1220 Master St., Philadelphia, Pa.
*William W. Price, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.

Q

*Eugene K. Quigg, 111 S. 12th St., Richmond, Ind.
Dorothy Quimby, 17 Field Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y.

R

James W. Ragsdale, Greenleaf, Idaho.
Elliotte B. Ralston, Northbranch, Kansas.
Willis H. Ratliff, R. No. 2, Fairmount, Ind.
William R. Redick, Rockford, Ohio.
Gurney B. Reece, Greensboro, N. C.
Robert E. Reed, Brookfield, Mass.
William K. Reichert, 320 W. 84th St., New York City.
Leroy W. Reynolds, Mooresville, Ind.
Charles J. Rhoads, 1914 S. Rittenhouse Sq., Philadelphia, Pa.
Lillie F. Rhoads, 1914 S. Rittenhouse Sq., Philadelphia, Pa.
Hubert Richardson, Passaic, N. J.
Richard A. Ricks, 1149 West Ave., Richmond, Va.
James W. Ridpath, New Sharon, Iowa.
Anna W. Roberts, Moorestown, N. J.
Christopher Roberts, Newark, N. J.
E. Merrill Root, 55 Putnam St., Sommerville, Mass.
Esther S. Root, 2 W. 67th St., New York City.
Curtis D. Ross, Haviland, Kansas.
Huldah Ross, Short Hills, N. J.
R. Frank Ross, Haviland, Kansas.
Luther Russell, Drumwright, Oklahoma.
Mary T. Russell, 79 Trumbull St., New Haven, Conn.

*Parvin M. Russell, 23 W. 106th St., New York City.
Ralph M. Rutledge, % Ryan Fruit Co., Yakima, Wash.
Walter N. Rutt, Florin, Lancaster Co., Pa.

S

Carleton E. Sager, 3700 Hamilton St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Arthur Santmier, Hecla, Manitoba, Can.
Charles S. Satterthwait, 16 S. 10th Ave., Bethlehem, Pa.
M. Elizabeth Satterthwaite, Tecumseh, Michigan.
Clifford R. Saylors, 1123 State St., Emporia, Kansas.
J. Henry Scattergood, Villa Nova, Pa.
Marjory Scattergood, 3515 Powelton Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Maria C. Scattergood, 3515 Powelton Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Floyd W. Schmoe, 4502 12th St., N. E., Seattle, Wash.
Milo M. Schoonover, Byers, R. I., Kansas.
Mildred Scott, 4708 Springfield Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
*Francis P. Sharpless, West Chester, Pa.
*Lester B. Shoemaker, Tullytown, Pa.
B. Clyde Shore, Yadkinville, N. C.
Marvin H. Shore, Yadkinville, N. C.
Arthur Shrigley, 603 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Edward A. Sibley, 811 Westview Ave., Germantown, Pa.
Gertrude E. Simms, 405 2nd Nat'l Bank Bldg., Richmond, Ind.
*A. Clark Smith, Greenleaf, Idaho.
*Alan G. Smith, 6490 Woodbine Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
James B. Smith, Jr., Eureka, New York.
*Ralph P. Smith, Clayton, Del.
*Walter E. Smith, Eureka, New York.
Walter H. Smith, Metamora, Illinois.
Warren M. Smith, Gibson, Iowa.
Vernon Smucker, Orville, Ohio.
Ralph W. Snavely, Landisville, Pa.
Donald B. Snyder, R. D. 3, Wabash, Indiana.
Guy W. Solt, Central City, Nebraska.
Charles E. Sommer, 10905 Lee Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Albert J. Sommer, Metamora, Ill.
*William B. Southworth, 44 Edge Hill Rd., Brookline, Mass.
Martha T. Speakman, Swarthmore, Pa.
*John H. Speer, Jr., 308 Price St., West Chester, Pa.
George O. Springer, R. R. Metamora, Ill.
Henry Stabler, Fairfax, Virginia.
Ernest I. Stahly, Middlebury, Indiana.
Alfred E. Standing, Earlham, Iowa.

Arthur C. Standing, Earlham, Iowa.
James G. Stanislawsky, 3064 Lynde St., Oakland, Cal.
James W. Steer, Winona, Ohio.
I. Thomas Steere, Haverford, Pa.
Robert M. Stemen, R. No. 7, Lima, Ohio.
*D. Owen Stephens, Moylan, Pa.
Walter C. Stephens, 415 W. Howard St., Muncie, Ind.
Eli Stoltzfus, 825 N. Jefferson St., Lima, Ohio.
Mahlon C. Stouffer, Rittman, Ohio.
*Henry B. Strater, Louisville, Ky.
Mabel R. Sturgis, 63 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.
J. Emel Swanson, 7827 62nd Ave., S. E., Portland, Ore.

T

*Lester Taggart, Charlevoix, Michigan.
Harry E. Tamplin, 5322 82nd St., Portland, Oregon.
Ashton R. Tatnall, Jr., Center & Chestnut, Redlands, Cal.
David S. Tatum, 322 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
Oliver P. Tatum, 6 Park Road, Llanerch, Pa.
Dr. Marianna Taylor, St. Davids, Pa.
Charles M. Teague, 10 Church St., Gonic, N. H.
Harvey S. Thatcher, Utica, Ohio.
Alice B. Thomas, Moses Brown School, Providence, R. I.
Bevan W. Thomas, 409 N. Bright Ave., Whittier, Cal.
Cleaver S. Thomas, 1149 Potter St., Chester, Pa.
*L. Ralston Thomas, Moses Brown School, Providence, R. I.
Walter E. Thomasson, 912 Villa, Pasadena, Cal.
Russell W. Thornburg, Urbana, Ohio.
Arthur G. Thorp, 404 W. State St., Media, Pa.
James Thorp, Media, Pa.
*William C. Titcomb, 66 Stone St., Augusta, Maine.
Morris N. Tomlinson, Westfield, Indiana.
Frederick O. Tostenson, Le Grande, Iowa.
James O. Tow, R. R. 10, Columbia, Mo.
Augusta Townsend, 15 Innes Ave., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
*J. Coleman Traviss, 5 Holmes St., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Clay A. C. Treadway, Macksville, Kansas.
Harold M. Tucker, Nampa, Idaho.

U

Byron E. Underwood, Jr., 2041 Francisco St., Berkeley, Cal.
Leigh R. Urban, No. Brookfield, Mass.

*Alfred C. Vail, 23rd and Howard Sts., Chester, Pa.
Edwin H. Vail, 333 Channing Ave., Palo Alto, Cal.
Ito Van Giesen, 340 N. Millwood Ave., Wichita, Kansas.
*Arend M. Vlaskamp, 1530 W. 7th St., Muncie, Ind.
Stephen Vlaskamp, 1530 W. 7th St., Muncie, Ind.
Ernest N. Votaw, 20 Rigby Ave., Lansdowne, Pa.

W

Leroy G. Waggener, Central City, Nebraska.
Dorothy Walton, 802 Mt. Curve Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
Alfred R. Ware, Worcester, Mass.
Willard H. Ware, Worcester, Mass.
*Luther E. Warren, Wilmington, Ohio.
Robert F. Way, Central City, Neb.
*William Webb, West Chester, Pa.
*Edward L. Webster, 4830 Penn St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa.
John W. Weightman, Jr., 2823 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Cal.
William B. Weightman, 2823 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Cal.
Ethelynde Weil, 212 W. Washington Square, Philadelphia, Pa.
George R. Wells, 1028 6th St., S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.
Alfred E. Wetherald, Bryantown, Maryland.
*William H. B. Whitall, 512 Church Lane, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Frances M. White, Cardington, Pa.
*Headley S. White, Langhorne, Pa.
Paul L. Whitely, R. F. D. 21, Fairmount, Indiana.
Ralph E. Whitely, Milton, Indiana.
Charles L. Whitney, 312 Camden Rd., London.
T. Barclay Whitson, Moylan, Pa.
George H. Wild, 28 Chaloner St., Fall River, Mass.
Walter E. Wildman, Selma, Ohio.
Jonathan G. Williams, 514 N. Raymond Ave., Pasadena, Cal.
L. Griswold Williams, 66 Willets Ave., New London, Conn.
Clarence C. Willits, Urbana, Ohio.
Charles D. Winslow, R. 1, Carthage, Indiana.
Earle M. Winslow, Marshalltown, Iowa.
J. Raymond Winslow, Marshalltown, Iowa
Leonard F. Winslow, George, N. C.
John C. Winston, Jr., 832 Stillman Ave., Redlands, Cal.
Gerald H. Wood, Central College, Central City, Neb.
Raymond V. Wood, 289 Jackson St., Lawrence, Mass.
Richard R. Wood, Riverton, N. J.
Roy C. Woods, 301 "K" Ave., Oskaloosa, Iowa.

Edward N. Wright, Moylan, Pa.
Lester B. Wright, Newberg, Oregon.
Noah V. Wright, Farmland, Indiana.

Y

Floyd Yoder, Shipshewana, Indiana.
Solomon E. Yoder, R. D. 1, Bellville, Pa.
Wilmer J. Young, Springville, Iowa.

Z

J. Thompson Zachary, Snow Camp, N. C.
*Edwin C. Zavitz, Coldstream, Ontario, Can.
John S. Zimmerman, Ronks, Pa.
*John D. Zook, care of *Charleston Mail*, Charleston, W. Va.

APPENDIX B

Equipes and Centers of Work in France

Abbeville
Apremont
Arcis-sur-Aube
Attigny (Ardennes)
Aubréville
Auzéville
Avocourt
Bar-le-Duc (Meuse)
Bar-sur-Aube
Beauchamps
Besançon (Doubs)
Bettancourt (Marne)
Blesme (Marne)
Brabant-en-Argonne
Boureuilles (Meuse)
Brizeaux
Buzancy (Ardennes)
Châlons (Marne)
Champlat (Marne)
Charmont (Marne)
Châtel Chéhéry
Châtillon
Chavanges (Aube)
Cheppy
Chevières (Ardennes)
Cierges
Clermont-en-Argonne
Compiègne (Oise)
Cuchery (Marne)
Courcelles (Meuse)
Dôle-du-Jura
Dombasle-en-Argonne
Dun-sur-Meuse
Eaux Bonnes (Basses Pyrenees)
Esmery-Hallon (Somme)
Esnes
Evian-les-Bains
Evres (Meuse)
Exermont
Fléville (Ardennes)
Foreste
Fromeréville
Givry-en-Argonne
Golancourt
Gondrecourt (Meuse)
Grandpré (Ardennes)
Grange-le-Compte (Meuse)
Gruny
Ham (Somme)
Issoncourt
Jubécourt (Meuse)
La Chalade (Meuse)
Lapalisse (Allier)
La Val
Le Neufour (Meuse)
Les Islettes (Meuse)
Les Senades (Meuse)
Liége (Belgium)
Lisieux
Locheres
Louviers (Eure)
Luneville
Lyons
Malabry
Marcq (c/o Grange-le-Compte)
Mareuil-le-Port (Marne)
Marseille
Méry-sur-Seine (Aube)